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- Kathryn Gay Anderson, Juliette Koning, *Women and households in Indonesia; Cultural notions and social practices*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000, xiii + 354 pp. [Nordic Institute of Asian studies, studies in Asian topics 27.], Marleen Noltén, Janet Rodenburg (eds)
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- Mariëtte van Selm, Chr. van Fraassen ,G.E. Rumphius, De Ambonse eilanden onder de VOC, zoals opgetekend in De Ambonse landbeschrijving'. Utrecht: Landelijk Steunpunt Educatie Molukkers, 2002, 254 pp., H. Straver (eds)
- K. Thirumaran, Prema-Chandra Athukorala, Crisis and recovery in Malaysia; The role of capital controls. Cheltenham: Elgar, 2001, xii + 159 pp.
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- Jennifer Fraser, Philip Yampolsky, Music of Indonesia. Washington DC: Smithsonian Folkways recordings, 1991-2000, 20 compact discs plus a CD of selections from the series, Discover Indonesia. All with accompanying booklets.
- Robert Wessing, Nicola Tannenbaum ,Founders' cults in Southeast Asia; Ancestors, polity, and identity. New Haven CT: Yale University Southeast Asian studies, 2003, xi + 373 pp. [Yale Southeast Asia studies Monograph 52.], Cornelia Ann Kammerer (eds)
- Robert Wessing, Henri Chambert-Loir ,The potent dead; Ancestors, saints and heroes in contemporary Indonesia. Crows Nest, New South Wales: Allen and Unwin, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002, xxvi + 243 pp. [Southeast Asia publications series.], Anthony Reid (eds)

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## Book reviews

Susan Blackburn (ed.), *Love, sex and power; Women in Southeast Asia*. Clayton VIC: Monash Asia Institute, 2001, iv + 144 pp. [Monash Papers on Southeast Asia 55.] ISBN 1.87692.402.0. Price: AUD 26.95 (paperback).

BARBARA WATSON ANDAYA

Consisting of an introduction and eight essays, this volume grew out of a workshop held at Monash University in 1999 that brought together academics and students attached to Australian universities. While it is a handsome production and contains interesting and useful information, the contents overall do not reach the standard set by the attractive cover. At the most basic level, the manuscript was apparently not subjected to a rigorous peer review. Had this occurred, certain questions might have been addressed and rectified, such as the very title itself, since only two of the essays (Alexander Soucy on the continuing subordination of Vietnamese women through a growing stress on 'romantic love', and Lenore Lyons on her personal experience of researching the lives of Singaporean women) actually deal with any place outside Indonesia.

More particularly, *Love, sex and power* demonstrates the academic difficulties of turning workshop presentations into a coherent book. Susan Blackburn's introduction would have been an excellent place for an overview of the still evolving ways in which Southeast Asian specialists have understood the relationship between power and gender. Here, too, we could have been provided with some kind of working definition of that problematic term 'power' in order to appreciate its manifestation in female lives across the societies on which contributors focus. Contextualizing the workshop and the subsequent publication would also have given more credence to the editor's claim that the volume represents 'new trends' in writing about women in Southeast Asia. It could have provided an opportunity, for example, to think about the indigenous vocabulary used in relation to female power, especially in terms of Benedict Anderson's influential essay on Javanese power (written, after all, thirty years ago, not 1990, as suggested by the reprint cited in the bibliography). In her contribution on women in Indonesian politics Rochayah Machali goes part-way down this path, but one would have welcomed a deeper exploration of the 'Javaneseness' attributed to Megawati, the intriguing linguistic differences in the latter's self-representations (preferably with the relevant Indonesian text in the footnotes) and the words she used

in the search for 'power accumulation' (p. 14). In addition, the introduction might have made some reference to the questionable application of universal criteria for measuring 'female power'. As Peter Hancock indicates in his essay on working women in West Java, the Western tendency to see women in politics as evidence of female empowerment can be misleading. A more relevant measure, he argues, is the degree to which women themselves feel 'empowered', and measuring this demands greater refinement than is at present apparent among many development theorists.

A second issue in the conference-to-book transition concerns the need for communication between individual papers. In this case, there is no evidence of the rethinking that might have occurred during the workshop as a result of discussions between contributors – again, a topic that could have been addressed in the introduction. The inclusion of a subject index would have gone a considerable way towards addressing recurring themes and identifying similarities and differences between individual essays. For instance, Kathy Robinson notes that there were more women in Parliament in New Order Indonesia in 1995 than at the time of writing; how does this relate to Hancock's discussion of 'female power' in a period which Rochayah views as characterized by 'ibuism'? An expansion of conversations between participants could have gone some way in siting the essay by Lenore Lyons more easily in the collection as a whole. Dealing largely with her personal experiences, her contribution might have served as a springboard to raise larger issues about the relationship between Western and local scholars. One might ask, for instance, if demands of language and cultural sensitivities mean that certain topics, such as domestic violence (here discussed by Nurul Ilmi Idris) are more easily investigated from an indigenous perspective.

A weakness common to several contributions is a tendency to make rather sweeping generalizations about change without adequate reference to the findings of past researchers. Soucy would have done well to remind his readers that 'romantic love' is hardly a new concept in literature from Vietnam, while his footnote citations could give greater credit to the corpus of research by anthropologists and historians specifically on Confucianism, gender and the Vietnamese family. Some historical evaluation has been attempted by Kathryn Robinson in her 'preliminary' comparison of the position of Muslim women in three different societies (Java, Aceh, and Sulawesi). This rather ambitious goal, difficult to attain in the space allotted, is approached through an examination of selected anthropological texts. Cross-cultural comparison is complicated, however, because the choice of material ranges from Snouck Hurgronje's 1893 study of the Acehnese to Geertz's 1960 study of Java and Shelly Errington's 1990 book on Luwu'. Certainly it would have been completely impossible to cite all the relevant literature, but it is surprising to see no mention of Jacqui Siapno's 1997 thesis on the politics of gender and Islam

in Aceh (since published), nor to Hendrik Chabot's classic *Verwantschap, stand en sexe in Zuid-Celebes* (available in English). By the same token, greater contextualization would have strengthened Helen Pausacker's interesting essay on the use of *wayang* puppeteers to promote family planning in Java (presumably not Indonesia, as in her title). Because this identification of *dalang* as state agents is not in itself new, we would be interested to learn how her conclusions differ from or expand on related research by both Indonesian and Western scholars. The best piece in the collection is Lyn Parker's article on pre-World War II Balinese views of 'domestic science' as a promoter of female independence, but even here some reference to similar developments in Java around the same period would have been helpful. It is extremely unfortunate that virtually all the references in this historically informed and well-researched essay were omitted from the combined bibliography.

The number of academic publications now available has been dramatically increased by the relative ease of producing an attractive book from collections that would have previously appeared in more modest formats. There can be little doubt that *Love, sex and power* would have benefited from a more thoughtful and critical review while still at the manuscript stage. Specialist readers would have suggested ways to strengthen lines of argument and interconnections, an index would have been a helpful guide to readers, and careful copy-editing would have caught internal inconsistencies, repetition and stylistic slips as well as bibliographic omissions. As it stands, this publication can best be read as a 'conference proceedings' volume that makes available some promising work in progress. Given its page length, the price is not particularly cheap, and it seems likely that potential buyers will simply photocopy individual essays that interest them.

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Juliette Koning, Marleen Nolten, Janet Rodenburg and Ratna Saptari, *Women and households in Indonesia; Cultural notions and social practices*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000, xiii + 354 pp. [Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Studies in Asian Topics 27.] ISBN 0.7007.1156.2. Price: GBP 65 (hardback).

KATHRYN GAY ANDERSON

Since the 1970s the household has enjoyed increased popularity as a unit of analysis because it is highly visible and allegedly concrete. This book shows that it is actually highly permeable. *Women and households in Indonesia* highlights the wide variety of household arrangements in Indonesia and chal-

lenges the dominant paradigm in which nuclearization of families is believed to result in domestication of women.

The volume contains fifteen chapters selected from twenty-nine papers presented at a conference held in 1995. The first of five sections provides an introduction to the subject matter, theoretical insights, and highlights of the papers that are not included. Two of the editors, Nolten and Saptari, do a fine job of contextualizing the research presented in the following sections, the theoretical value of which is not always clearly explained by the contributors. The second section examines policies and discourse pertaining to the role of women in the households of colonial and late twentieth-century Indonesia. Sylvia Tiwon's analysis in particular is noteworthy for its attempt to go beyond fields usually covered in women's studies and into the realm of land rights. The third section seeks to challenge the notion that the household is an ideal unit of analysis for understanding gender relations. One of the best chapters, that of Keebet and Franz von Benda-Beckmann, challenges the very concept of a household. Their detailed research about Ambonese social relationships and living arrangements reveals that co-residence is but one aspect of very complex relationships that are perhaps common among peasants straddling subsistence and market economies. Section Four then continues the critical analysis of the concept of a household by examining the effects of migration on household relationships and women's lives. The physical separation of family members is shown to affect their relationships in a wide variety of ways for which traditional (read: post-industrial Western) notions of a household have difficulty accounting. The final section examines the commonly held belief in the separation of the public and private spheres in light of pre-1997 Indonesian economic circumstances. In particular G.G. Weix's succinct chapter on elite Javanese households convincingly illustrates the manner in which the domestic and professional realms are inexorably intertwined. In doing so she reiterates the arguments of a previous generation of scholars, most notably Hildred Geertz and Robert Jay, whose works are more critically appraised in Diane Wolf's chapter on less prosperous Javanese women.

The book unquestionably fulfills its stated aim of 'examin[ing] critically the usefulness of the "household" concept within the culturally diverse context of Indonesia and [...] explor[ing] in more detail the position of women within and beyond the existing domestic arrangements' (p. xii). Most of the contributors conducted extensive field work, and the volume is replete with case studies and women's voices. Without a doubt it will be a valuable source of information for comparative research. The cross-cultural comparisons contained within the volume itself, however, are generally superficial. The information beckons further analysis.

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Takeshi Kawanaka, *Power in a Philippine city*. Chiba: Institute of Developing Economies, 2002, 118 pp. [IDE Occasional Papers Series 38.] ISBN 4.258.52038.1. Price: JPY 2,400 (hardback).

GREG BANKOFF

While we are constantly admonished never to judge a book by its cover, it is perhaps even more of a truism not to assess a book's importance by its size. *Power in a Philippine city* may be a very small book in terms of its length but its import cannot be measured purely by the number of its pages. Rather its significance lies both in the nature of its subject matter and the nationality of its writer. Let me explain, starting with the author first. Japanese post-war research on Southeast Asia constitutes a prolific and rich source on the region that most scholars of other idioms are only dimly aware of despite the valiant (but short-lived) translation series initiated by Cornell University back in the early 1990s. To most of us interested in things Filipino (myself included) all this work, unfortunately, remains largely a closed book though there are a growing number of young and younger Filipino scholars who were recruited to study in Japan and who are now familiar with that language and its works. For the rest of us, however, a person who can draw upon both Western and Japanese traditions constitutes a most welcome addition to the literature on that score alone. Not that such a remark is meant to detract in any way from the quality of the research presented in this book. Its focus on municipal and provincial politics, especially after the implementation of the 1991 Local Government Code, is as timely as it is thought provoking. Takeshi Kawanaka has written a book whose subject matter should serve as a model for future students.

The argument addresses the central questions of how local politics works, how local politicians attain and maintain their hold on power, and the nature of centre-local relations. As a case example, Kawanaka takes the provincial city of Naga, the most important urban centre in the Bicol region of Southern Luzon and examines the local dynamics since the inception of mayoralty elections in 1959 and more especially since the emergence of Jesse Robredo as its mayor in 1988. Kawanaka is anxious to show the limitations of conventional socio-cultural approaches that attempt to explain power holding in terms of patron-client relationships or the degree of private wealth. Instead, he maintains that local politicians depend primarily on access to state resources and on the creation of political machines. The first assures a continual flow of benefits, while the latter ensures the grassroots support necessary for their distribution. This theoretical framework is elaborated on at some length in the first chapter that also contains a useful review of the existing literature on the subject. A couple of brief chapters then relate the background to the city and its political history until the 1988 election. Chapter 4 provides an over-



view of the chronological events of the successive Robredo administrations while the city government's relations with the middle classes and people's organizations are considered in the following chapters. The socio-economic backgrounds, recruitment and motivation of those who constitute this political machine are discussed in the penultimate chapter and a conclusion offers a brief recapitulation of the arguments. Kawanaka is adamant in his advocacy of a revisionist position 'free from the conventional perspectives of seeing the Philippine state as weak' (p. 104).

And by making the 'local' the focus of centre-local relations, viewing power from the periphery inwards rather than the other way round, the state does not appear at all insubstantial or negligible. The degree of discretionary power that command over such resources confers is an important insight into explaining why local offices in the Philippines are so hotly contested. The convergence of a 'democratic' legacy in the form of American colonialism on the one hand, with the relative advantages of the state over society in a late developing economy on the other hand, creates a need for political machines to act as instruments of electoral success. Nor has the emergence of a new breed of politician more attuned to concepts of 'good governance' or fiscal probity made such mechanisms any the less essential to the winning of political office. Local politicians may adopt external labels and run under national tickets for convenience sake but they contest fundamentally regional struggles. The result is a 'strange brew' of short-lived alliances and continually shifting allegiances that go far to explain the oftentimes-bewildering nature of Filipino politics. Actually the model Kawanaka develops here has much in common with the situation in Indonesia since *reformasi*. The Philippines is not so much the 'odd state out' of Southeast Asia as so many contend and there are many close parallels between the processes of decentralization in one and local autonomy in the other that invite comparative research.

There is no doubt that the author is making an important point about access to state resources and so can be excused from overstating his case somewhat. According to his arguments, social relations and culture are to be dismissed as significant factors in understanding how power is held and wielded at the local level. Yet it seems to me that the dyadic relationship, especially that of patron to client in one form or another, is still at the heart of the political system even on the evidence presented by Kawanaka. His description of a political machine in the final analysis is still one that relies on bonds of reciprocity and personal loyalty: remove the principal sponsor and the whole system falls apart. One does not need to dispense with a concept in its entirety to offer criticism or modify its usage. Moreover, it is not always apparent that what may happen in Naga applies all over the archipelago. The assumption is that this city is representative of the nation as a whole when its history, particular cultural affiliation and special provisions could just as

well support the opposite contention. A wider evidential basis that incorporated comparative studies would lend the author's assertions weight and make his arguments more convincing. Finally there is also an awkwardness of expression and structure that distracts the reader at times: while the occasional lapse in language is understandable and more a matter of editorship, the number of chapters (seven plus a conclusion) in so short a book is less comprehensible and suggests a lack of conceptual integration.

All in all, however, this is both a stimulating and a useful book whose small size belies its importance. It provides research on a much neglected topic, rewardingly revisits old arguments, and offers an interesting commentary for student and scholar alike. None the less, its subject matter is such that it could further profit from treatment at a longer length.

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John Lynch, Malcolm Ross and Terry Crowley (eds), *The Oceanic languages*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2002, xvii + 924 pp. ISBN 0.7007.1128.7. Price: GBP 165 (hardback).

RENÉ VAN DEN BERG

This is a remarkable book deserving high praise. Its aim is to present an overview of the Oceanic languages and it achieves this goal in an eminent fashion. At a time when scholarship is increasingly focused on details and scholars tend to limit themselves to their small area of expertise, it is refreshing to see a work of such breadth come off the press. The bulk of the book is taken up by 43 sketches of individual Oceanic languages, but there are additional introductory chapters (written collaboratively by the editors) on the general typology of this subgroup, sociolinguistic background, and the current thinking on the reconstructed language ancestral to this subgroup (Proto Oceanic), as well as a chapter on internal subgrouping, a complete list of all Oceanic languages by subgroup, and a 24-page bibliography. Numerous maps help the reader locate languages and language groups. In short, a true reference work. All three editors have done extensive research in the Pacific and are superbly qualified to produce a volume of this sort.

As explained in the introductory chapter, the Oceanic languages constitute a subgroup within the Austronesian family, comprising some 450-500 languages which are spoken in a vast area of the globe: Melanesia (including coastal areas of Papua New Guinea), Micronesia and Polynesia, with one group (six languages in the Sarmi/Jayapura subgroup) located in the easternmost province of Indonesia. Most of these languages are spoken by small groups of people. Though there are a few languages with 100,000 speakers

or more (Fijian, Samoan, Tongan, Kiribati, Tolai), the average size of the language communities in PNG and the Solomon Islands is around 4,000 speakers, while Vanuatu, home to 105 languages, averages around 1,500 speakers per language. One may wonder about the vitality of these languages, but Chapter 2, 'Sociolinguistic background', warns the reader against 'an overly pessimistic picture of the [...] linguistic future for many parts of Oceania'. Many languages are said to be tenacious and the general conclusion is that 'most Oceanic languages seem to be holding on remarkably well'. The authors do not address the question of whether language documentation and vernacular literacy have played or are playing any role in this process. Given the success of Christianity in the Pacific and the ongoing work of bible translation and vernacular education in most areas, this is perhaps a question which could be fruitfully explored.

Chapter 3, 'Typological overview', presents some of the common features of this subgroup. The editors point out, and the sketches confirm this, that the languages are typologically quite diverse. Some have developed phonemic tone, others show ergativity; some have very little morphology, others show amazing complexities of verbal agreement. Sye, for instance, a language spoken on Erromango in southern Vanuatu, has eleven inflectional categories marked on the verb, including such unusual categories as recent past, distant past, optative and counterassertive. Yet there are also numerous similarities among the Oceanic languages: a relatively simple vowel inventory, several pronoun sets, direct and indirect possessive marking, and verb serialization, to name just a few.

This leads naturally to questions about the nature of Proto Oceanic (POc), the reconstructed protolanguage believed to be the ancestor of all the present-day Oceanic languages. Linguistic and archeological evidence seems to indicate that POc was spoken around 1600 BC in the Bismark archipelago, possibly on the island of New Britain (PNG). What POc looked like as a language is the topic of Chapter 4. This is the most complex part of the book, and in certain sections it seems to be introducing new hypotheses rather than giving an overview of established scholarship (for example in the sections on articles, on the origin of the possessive classifiers, and on the order of elements in the verb phrase). Overall, however, it presents a very readable bird's eye view of POc phonology and grammar, at the same time pointing out areas for further research. It is somewhat regrettable that next to nothing is said about the POc lexicon, an area which has received much attention in the past decade. A sample of reconstructed vocabulary in the area of, for instance, canoe terms or food preparation would have given the reader a welcome taste of POc culture.

Chapter 5, 'Internal subgrouping', starts off with a helpful theoretical excursion into the nature of subgrouping. Two terms frequently used in the book are

carefully defined: family (an innovation-defined subgroup) and linkage (an innovation-linked subgroup). The chapter proceeds with brief descriptions of the various higher- and lower-order subgroups, in each case noting the defining features of the group and relating it to archeological data on settlement history. We are told that Micronesia, for instance, was settled late, only about two thousand years ago. The accompanying maps are excellent, and this chapter would have lost much of its value and attraction without them.

The remaining 750 pages of the book are taken up by the 43 sketches, ranging from eight to around thirty pages. They all follow the same descriptive template, which is also identical to the one in the chapters on typology and Proto Oceanic. This makes comparisons relatively easy. Each sketch starts with a brief introduction about location, number of speakers and sources used, provides a map, then moves into phonology (phoneme chart, phonotactics, stress, syllable structure, plus notes on orthography), nouns and noun phrases (including pronouns, possession, relative clauses), verbs and verb phrases, clause structure (including verbless and negative clauses) and ends with imperative, interrogative and complex sentences.

Many (24) of these sketches are based on original fieldwork by the authors, usually the three editors, with Malcolm Ross scoring particularly high, but some fifteen additional (co-)authors are listed as well. Only one native speaker is listed as co-author (Rex Horoi for Arosi). Ten sketches are 'adapted', that is, based on previously (un)published grammars, but either reinterpreted or supplemented by the 'adapter'. Finally, eight sketches are abstracted – that is, summarized by the editors on the basis of other peoples' work.

Two facts are quite striking regarding these sketches. The first one is the use of basic linguistic terminology and the lack of formalism and theory-related discussions. This is no doubt a wise decision, as the data will be available for linguists of any persuasion for many years to come. It also means the sketches are eminently readable, especially after the introductory chapter on typology.

The second striking fact is the choice of languages. None of the major and better-known Oceanic languages are represented here (for instance: Fijian, Hawaiian, Mokilese, Motu). The editors defend this exclusion on the grounds that descriptions of these languages are readily available and that they feature prominently in the introductory chapters. Instead they have made the choice to focus on the lesser-known and undescribed languages. This is arguably a good decision, although I think that most people will expect a reference work on a particular language family to include sketches of the more important languages, such as Tolai (also because of its influence on Tok Pisin), or Maori (because of its cultural prominence). But the bibliographical references are certainly there.

I noticed very few typos: Mao for Map (p. 6) and an occasional stray  $\beta$  appearing inexplicably in the text (for instance, on p. 220). Quereti (1990),

referred to on page 883, is not listed in the references. The book could also have benefited from a series of maps giving the location of each Oceanic language, as done in the *Ethnologue*, but that may be asking for too much. It is of course difficult to do justice to such an enormous language subgroup and concomitant linguistic diversity in a single volume (and equally hard to do justice to such a book in a short review), but in my view the editors and authors have succeeded very well in presenting the rich linguistic variety found in Oceania. This volume will be the major reference work on the area for many years, and at the same time it will hopefully also stimulate research on the many Oceanic languages, the vast majority of which, we are told, remain completely unknown. May Oceanic languages as well as Oceanic scholarship thrive in this century.

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Douglas Oliver, *Polynesia in early historic times*. Honolulu: Bess Press, 2002, 305 pp. ISBN 1.573.06125.5. Price: USD 29.95 (paperback).

H.J.M. CLAESSEN

In this well-written book, Douglas Oliver presents 'to the nonspecialist reader [...] a more comprehensive, less technical [...] introduction' (p. 2) than is otherwise available to the culture of the Polynesians at the time of their discovery by Europeans. The periodization here is rather vague, since the European exploration of the Pacific begins in 1520 with Magelhães and ends in the middle of the nineteenth century when the last unknown islands were found. Oliver states that for each archipelago, his account is based on that moment in time when the first reliable description appears. But when is a description 'reliable'? Oliver seems to concentrate on the second half of the eighteenth century, the period in which most of the major discoveries were made – a good choice, for it is at this time that voyagers like James Cook, Georg Forster, and Louis-Antoine de Bougainville wrote their important descriptions of Polynesian societies. Which is not to say that these seafarers understood everything they saw, nor that their analyses are always correct. All in all, however, their descriptions are of a high quality and continue to form the starting point for all research in Polynesia. Apart from his extensive use of these sources, Oliver also bases his book on his own previous publications on Tahiti (Oliver 1974, 1981, 1988) and on a number of his more general works on the Pacific islands (Oliver 1951, 1989a, 1989b). With the help of these data he constructs in great detail the culture of the Polynesians before it was destroyed by European influences. It is striking that several of the old-

est reports on Polynesia, including those of Magelhães, Schouten, Le Maire, and Tasman, are not used. This may be connected with language problems, although Oliver does use quite a number of works in French and German. The seminal work by Kirch and Green (2001) appeared after the completion of his text, and he mentions it only in a footnote (note 17). This is a pity, for it could have helped him to solve a number of problems with regard to the ancestral Polynesian culture (for instance with regard to hierarchy and forms of social organization, pp. 8, 9, 10, 13).

*Polynesia in early historic times* comprises three parts. Part One presents a survey of the languages and the dispersal of the Polynesians. Part Two, the main part, contains the ethnographic descriptions. Part Three discusses the New Zealand Maori, as their culture differs considerably from those of the other Polynesians due to the rather different climate and the (comparatively speaking) huge landmass.

In Part Two Oliver describes in 18 chapters, and in great detail, the life of the Polynesians as it was before it was disturbed by European influences. This part forms the backbone of the book. In each chapter Oliver gives a general picture of some specific sphere of activity: 'Cosmologies and religions', 'Tools and crafts', 'Food and drink', 'Sexual activity', 'Other diversions', 'Kinship and friendship', and so on. Local divergences from the general pattern are acknowledged and described. In this way the differences, but also the similarities, between (for instance) high, densely populated islands and small atolls come to the fore. Here Oliver's extensive knowledge and careful way of formulating things is displayed at its best. A great number of illustrations clarify the text. This is not just a compliment for the sake of politeness: the illustrations are very good and most instructive. European readers, on the other hand, will regret that Oliver deemed it necessary to use non-metric measures like miles, feet, and gallons for the sake of his non-specialist readers in the USA.

Perhaps inevitably, not all of Oliver's reconstructions and arguments are convincing. That some of his views are no longer shared by his colleagues seems to be related to his use of older literature. In the chapter on population (pp. 25-32), for example, he refers to a table of 'estimated populations' by Kirch (1984:98) and accepts the figures given in this source without discussion. Yet several of Kirch's estimates differ from those of other anthropologists. The most important disagreements concern the number of inhabitants of the Samoa Islands at the time of discovery. Kirch (and thus Oliver) suggests 80,000 people, but Van Bakel (1989:57-59), using a great number of sources, has estimated that in the beginning of the nineteenth century (before the great population decrease began) Samoa contained between 40,000 and 60,000 people. The demographer McArthur (1968:100) put the population of the Samoa Islands in 1849 at 56,000 people, but thought it possible that this figure was too high, which corroborates Van Bakel's view. Van Bakel's data

imply a population density of 14 to 21 people per square kilometre. As only one third of the surface of the islands is cultivable, the average population density per square kilometre of arable land lies between 48 and 72 persons – a low number for Polynesia. Kirch, by contrast, estimates 99 persons per square kilometre of arable land, which is rather high. As the number of people can be related to the degree of political stratification (Claessen 2000), a reliable estimate of the population density is not without importance. Against this background, it is intriguing that in his discussion of the ramage (p. 192), Oliver states that in Samoa 'there was enough fertile land to support all its people, and political rivalries had to do mainly with precedence in ceremonial affairs'. This is a surprising statement when we compare the Samoan sociopolitical situation with that of Tahiti where, with more or less the same population density (according to Kirch and Oliver), a number of highly developed political systems had emerged (Oliver 1974). This difference suggests that Van Bakel's estimate for Samoa (and his characterization of Samoa's political structure as 'underdeveloped' due to a low population density) is rather closer to the mark. Oliver himself, however, does not enter into this type of comparison.

In his discussion of the development of the political system on Tonga, Oliver relates the traditional story that in the sixteenth century the *tui tonga*, for reasons of safety, delegated his worldly powers to a younger brother and confined himself to religious tasks (p. 193). However, recent research (Campbell 1992) suggests that the *tui tonga* was in fact ousted by the ambitious leader of a more powerful junior line, who replaced him as ruler and then permitted him to return only on condition that he renounced all political power. The same traditional approach comes to the fore in Oliver's reference to the 'occupation' of Samoa by a Tongan army in the fourteenth century. In view of the logistical problems connected with an 'invasion' of distant islands, such a military adventure seems highly unlikely; in reality, the connection between Tonga and Samoa was probably based on a strategic marriage system (Bott 1981; Claessen 1988).

Minor criticisms like these notwithstanding, the only possible conclusion is that Oliver has written a great book on traditional Polynesian culture(s). This is a work based on extensive knowledge of the sources, and Oliver is always careful to define the concepts which he uses (a service too often lacking in other works). *Polynesia in early historic times* is the kind of book which can only be written by a scholar who has devoted a lifetime to the study of a specific region. It demonstrates both broad learning and serious analysis, both an eye for detail and a grasp of the big picture – the balanced virtues which characterize a great scholar.

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Andrew Rosser, *The politics of economic liberalisation in Indonesia; State, market and power*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2002, xv + 232 pp. ISBN 0.7007.1476.6. Price: GBP 65 (hardback).

HAROLD CROUCH



This book is concerned primarily with the struggle over economic liberalization in New Order Indonesia following the collapse of oil prices in the mid-1980s. Rosser presents this process not as an attempt by government technocrats to impose 'rationality' on a corrupt and patronage-ridden economy but as a struggle between the interests of two coalitions – politico-bureaucrats and domestic conglomerates on one hand and what he calls 'mobile capitalists' on the other who include 'international lenders, portfolio investors, and footloose manufacturing enterprises and their allies at the World Bank and the IMF' (p. 12). The strength of the political-bureaucrats and the conglomerates lies largely in their capacity to exercise direct 'instrumental' power through their links with policy-makers in the government, while the mobile capitalists exercise indirect 'structural' power through their capacity to provide or withhold capital. As long as oil prices were high, the Indonesian government had no need to give high priority to the interests of mobile capital but when prices fell in the 1980s it was under heavy structural pressure to make conditions attractive to international capital. If, before the oil-price crisis, government intervention greatly favoured and protected the interests of the political-bureaucrats (the Soeharto family, the generals and their clients) and the conglomerates (Chinese business), the fall in oil prices made it imperative to carry out liberalizing reforms to open the way for international trade and investment.

The core of the book analyses the struggle between the rival coalitions over the extent of liberalization in four important fields – banking, the capital market, trade and investment policy and intellectual property. While the structural imperative left Indonesia with little choice but to liberalize, Rosser shows that the degree of liberalization differed according to the balance between particular interests in each field. Liberalization was implemented more easily in areas where it did least damage to the interests of the political-bureaucrats and conglomerates. Thus, in the banking sector, the government technocrats were able to push through substantial measures of deregulation but were much less successful in imposing prudential regulations such as restrictions on lending to affiliated companies. In the case of capital market reform, the revival of the stock exchange was in fact welcomed by conglomerates because it provide new sources of capital but regulatory reforms designed to increase transparency or protect the rights of minority shareholders were resolutely blocked. As Rosser says, 'the capital market continued to operate much like a casino' (p. 121). Reform of trade and investment policy was even less successful. It was in this area that the political-bureaucrats and conglomerates derived massive profits from monopolies, cartels, trade barriers and straightforward corruption. Only in the wake of the Asian Monetary Crisis in 1997 did the balance turn sharply in favour of mobile capital, spear-headed by the IMF to which a desperate government had turned for assist-

ance. The crisis not only brought about far more extensive liberalization but also brought an end to the Soeharto regime. Rosser shows, however, that the political-bureaucrats were not totally defeated and continued to resist the demands of mobile capital during the Habibie presidency.

Rosser tells this story well and sets it in a coherent theoretical framework. Economic policy-making is not just a search for 'rational' policies to enhance welfare but always involves conflicts of interests. While his analysis provides a lively account of the rent-seeking 'instrumental' practices of the political-bureaucrats and the conglomerates, the mobile capitalists remain somewhat disembodied in the realm of 'structural' power. In fact foreign capitalists were often deeply involved in the schemes perpetrated by the political-bureaucrats and conglomerates but their role does not receive substantial attention in this study. Nevertheless, this book provides a thorough examination of liberalization under the New Order and makes an excellent introduction to understanding policy-making in the current 'reformasi' era.

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Arend de Roever, *De jacht op sandelhout; De VOC en de tweedeling van Timor in de zeventiende eeuw*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2002, 383 pp. ISBN 90.5730.233.0. Price: EUR 29,50 (paperback).

HANS HÄGERDAL

In the present thesis Arend de Roever has ventured into a virtual *terra incognita* of Southeast Asian history, and for this reason among others his undertaking deserves respect. Though the island of Timor can hardly be called small (its size roughly equals that of the Netherlands minus the lakes), research on its pre-1975 history has been quite limited until recently. In this respect there have been few 'spill-over' effects from the wide international interest in the East Timor issue.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps language problems have played their part here: the rather few Portuguese scholars who have ventured into the field (such as Humberto Leitão and Artur de Matos) have not been able to use Dutch sources, while Portuguese material has been a closed book for most Dutch scholars. Dutch published studies are limited to a few badly dated pieces by G. Heijmering, P.J. Veth and a couple of others, mostly hidden in nineteenth-century periodicals. Serious studies on pre-modern Timor in English are limited to C.R. Boxer's slim essay *The Topasses of Timor* (Amsterdam, 1947)

<sup>1</sup> This is changing quickly, however. Recent publications include: R. Pelissier, *Timor en guerre; Le crocodile et les Portugais (1847-1913)* (Orgeval, 1996) and M. Schlicher, *Portugal in Ost-Timor* (Hamburg, 1996).

and one or two other titles. H.G. Schulte Nordholt's voluminous study *The political system of the Atoni of Timor* (The Hague, 1971) is a major *tour de force* in structural anthropology, but no substitute for a historical study.

From this point of view De Roever's book is more than welcome. He traces the history of the Solor-Timor region up to the second half of the seventeenth century in an aspect that has been known for a long time, but hardly studied analytically. This is the trade in sandalwood, that grew in certain quantities on Timor in the pre-modern era and constituted a far from unimportant commodity of trade in the Southeast Asian region. The fragrant wood is mentioned in classical and ancient Indian sources as a coveted product, though the sandalwood of the eldest texts is unlikely to have originated in Timor. It was a popular though comparatively small-scale trading item that eventually led Dutch and Portuguese interests to establish themselves in this unhealthy and relatively isolated corner of Southeast Asia. The story of the sandalwood trade in the seventeenth century is in essence the story of attempts to conquer a market, where the two colonial powers repeatedly clashed with each other and with indigenous forces.

For the present study De Roever has made use of both Dutch and Portuguese sources, with the emphasis on the former. In contrast with the Portuguese materials that have partly perished through fire and earthquake, the VOC sources have survived almost intact at the National Archives of The Hague, but have hardly been used so far. As De Roever shows they provide a goldmine of information on the economic structures connected to the early Solor-Timor area. One must also commend the unique illustrations and maps that the author has managed to dig up in various European archives. On the other hand the indigenous Timorese viewpoints are hard to trace. There is an obvious lack of written materials, apart from certain letters by indigenous rulers found in Dutch and Portuguese archives. Oral traditions were collected only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These late traditions have been relatively little used by De Roever; it is significant that the extensive stories edited and translated by P. Middelkoop are not even in the list of references. Admittedly, the nature of this material is extremely tricky.

When approaching Timor from a historical point of view it is easy to forget the limits that nature has put on human activity. It is one of the benefits of the thesis that it points out the implications of the special Timorese climate on external attempts to penetrate the area. In pre-modern times the island could hardly be reached by sailing crafts during the easterly monsoon, the more so as good harbours were absent on the north and south coasts. Only Kupang Bay provided good shelter – but at this location the coveted sandalwood was not to be found. To the north of Timor, however, lies the small island of Solor that for several geographic and climatic reasons provided an early stronghold for Western seafarers, and from which the sandalwood resources

of Timor were within reach. The Timorese themselves never developed a shipbuilding tradition and therefore may appear as 'passive' players in the ruthless politics of the sandalwood trade.

From a survey of the rather meagre sources at hand, De Roever concludes that the sandalwood, though known and appreciated by the Chinese, was submitted to a structured and comprehensive trade only in the second half of the sixteenth century. Dominican friars established a post at Solor and were joined by a number of Portuguese who intermarried with local women and gave rise to the Catholic mestizo group known as the Topasses, who would play a major part in Timorese history during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. They were soon to be challenged, however, by a new and vigorous external force.

The bulk of the thesis consists of a very detailed account of the activities of the VOC in the Solor-Timor area up to about 1660. De Roever shows how the weak indigenous Timorese polities, with their sparse populations and fluctuating borders, were used by the Western seafarers to ensure the delivery of sandalwood and wax, and how Dutch and Portuguese-Topass interests repeatedly clashed in the Solor-Timor waters. In the background lay the prospects for the Chinese market – wood bought on Timor was eventually sold off in China for eight times its purchase price. The small and isolated Portuguese garrison on Solor had no chance of withstanding the VOC attack led by Apolonius Schot in 1613, and had to withdraw to Larantuka on eastern Flores. Through the possession of a stronghold on Solor, the Dutch were able to secure the sandalwood trade on Timor for their own vessels in the following years. Nevertheless, a lack of interest in this corner of the archipelago on the part of Batavia gave the Portuguese a chance to stabilize their position anew, and the Company was soon to feel the troublesome consequences.

In spite of the best efforts of Jan Pieterszoon Coen the Dutch position *vis-à-vis* Solor-Timor was a rather vacillating one in the first half of the seventeenth century. After having repeatedly abandoned and re-occupied the fort on Solor, the VOC finally decided to establish its authority on Timor itself, using their old ally the Kupang kingdom as a base. Their establishment here in 1653 came too late, however, to outmanoeuvre the Portuguese-Topass adversaries. The latter had in the meantime managed to build their own power network on the island, expanding their authority over large territories in West Timor in conjunction with the prestigious Sonbai dynasty. A belated alliance between Sonbai and the Company provided little help as the Dutch and their friends were decisively beaten by pro-Portuguese forces in 1655, 1656 and 1658. After the battle of Gunung Mollo in 1658, Timor was in effect divided in a VOC sphere in westernmost Timor and a larger Portuguese-Topass zone in Central and East Timor.

And the sandalwood? This commodity was becoming increasingly sparse through careless felling. Early enthusiastic reports to the effect that the moun-

tains of Timor were covered with sandalwood forests were unfortunately completely untrue. De Roever estimates that hardly more than 0.02 % of the surface of the island could have been covered by sandalwood trees in the late seventeenth century. The coveted trees were still felled to some extent in kingdoms dependent of the roughshod Topass potentate António de Hornay. As for the Dutch, the Kupang stronghold remained a small and unprofitable outpost that had to be content with small trade in wax, slaves, turtle-shell and a few sandalwood trunks.

To sum up, De Roever's thesis makes a lot of sense of Timorese history in the seventeenth century through a clever use of untapped VOC sources, and manages to place the often brutal conflicts afflicting the area in a larger, even global, context. Nevertheless I sometimes get the feeling that the Portuguese side of the story remains partly unexplored. The dynamics of conversion to Catholicism are only treated briefly, and the decisive Portuguese expeditions to Timor in 1641-1642 are hardly mentioned. These limitations are no doubt the conscious choice of the author, but the scarcity of studies on these issues other than in Portuguese might have called for a fuller use of Iberian sources.

What is also missing is perhaps a closer focus on the indigenous polities of Solor and Timor. Anthropological results on the internal structure of the Timorese kingdoms have been subject to limited use in De Roever's analysis. From a sociological point of view it might also have been interesting to study the way that the dramatic events of the seventeenth century were reflected in later oral tradition. There are, for example, Timorese accounts of the battle of Gunung Mollo (1658) in texts published by Heijmering, Middelkoop and Parera which, although incorrect in details, give interesting hints regarding the way the Timorese themselves preferred to incorporate the event in their world-view. Names of indigenous persons and places are frequently given in the original VOC spellings, rather than the modern ones: Batou Bodey for Batupute, Onaijle for Oenale, Amenato for Amanatun, and so on. I think it would at least have been advisable to give the modern spellings in brackets or in footnotes.

All this said, Arend de Roever has admirably succeeded in creating a detailed and reliable study of a hitherto all but forgotten chapter in the saga of overseas European expansion; a study that enables us to grasp some of the roots of Timor's troubled modern history. It is to be hoped that an English version will shortly appear on the market.

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Lorraine V. Aragon and Susan D. Russell (eds), *Structuralism's transformations; Order and revision in Indonesian and Malaysian societies; Papers written in honor of Clark E. Cunningham*. Tempe AZ: Arizona State University Press, 1999, lxii + 402 pp. ISBN 1.88104.421.1. Price: USD 24.95.

FIONA HARRIS

This volume is a tribute to Clark E. Cunningham's contribution to the anthropology of Southeast Asia: indeed the editors argue that he opened up new areas of investigation that remain of enduring interest. These include the study of houses; migration; adoption and the borrowing of children. Furthermore, I would suggest that the seeds of Cunningham's scholarship can be found in those works that have developed the field of kinship into contemporary studies of relatedness.

Aragon and Russell have divided the collection of papers into five sections that reflect Cunningham's extensive career, each of the papers using his theoretical or ethnographic insights as a starting point. The first section is devoted to kinship. It begins with a paper on assymetric alliance (Fox); another on adoption and fostering (Nagata); and ends with a paper linking state formation to nineteenth-century kinship-based chiefdoms (Lansing and De Vet). The second section is entitled 'Cultural Symbols' and it includes Hicks' paper on divine kingship and siblingship; a discussion of Javanese slit-drums (Wessing); and a chapter on material culture and 'invented tradition' (Forth). In Part 3 the focus shifts to houses and order, particularly the Hoga Sara house (Molnar); the house in Java (Suparlan); and Woodward's analysis of the *kraton* in Yogyakarta. The fourth section provides a link to Cunningham's later research in medical anthropology via two chapters on spirit-induced illness (Yoshida, Provencher) and the final section is devoted to ethnicity and development with three papers by Sarkissian, Wolbers and McWilliam.

In the first sections, structuralism has a clear influence on the authors' analytical approaches, married with the theoretical concerns of the more classical anthropology. Then Forth's paper offers the reader a fascinating post-structuralist analysis of material culture, drawing on the concept of 'invented tradition'. A return visit to the Nage of eastern Indonesia offers an insight into the making of 'cultural symbols', revealing how anthropological enquiry itself is implicated in both the fashioning and exegesis of the object.

Woodward's contribution also provides a fresh ethnographic take on contemporary anthropological theory with his study of a *kraton* (sultan's palace) in Yogyakarta. Rather than question whether the Javanese are really Muslim, he shows how Islam is experienced locally: he does this by revealing how Islam is depicted, symbolized and expressed through built form. Sarkissian's

discussion of two Catholic rituals in Malacca provides ethnography that illustrates the dynamics between ritual practice, identity formation and local engagements with the state and tourism.

Indonesian societies are the most heavily represented in this collection, with only three of the fifteen papers devoted to Malaysia. Although on the whole the papers fall naturally into the named sections of the volume, some are more problematic. For instance, Provencher's paper might also have been placed within the section on houses rather than the spirit world as it deals with both; and Yoshida's paper could have sat comfortably in the final section on ethnicity and development. Indeed since there are only two papers in Section 4, they might have been situated thus rather than in a small section together. Another minor editorial criticism is that there are some typographical errors that have slipped past the proof readers: for instance Carsten is incorrectly cited as Carstens.

Although the papers are of varying quality and do not always add to existing bodies of anthropological theory, the collection provides a wealth of ethnography that will be of great interest to those working in or nearby these localities. The quality of the ethnographic detail is such that these papers will be a useful resource for those preparing to enter the field for the first time.

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Christiaan Heersink, *Dependence on green gold; A socio-economic history of the Indonesian coconut island Selayar*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1999, xviii + 371 pp. [Verhandeligen 184.] ISBN 90.6718.129.3. Price: EUR 28.30 (paperback).

DAVID HENLEY

*Dependence on green gold* is a history of Selayar, an island off the coast of South Sulawesi where economic life was dominated in the early twentieth century by the 'green gold' of coconut palms and the copra which they produced. The book draws on a wide range of archive material, including a rare *controleur's* archive from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which has survived in Makassar, and on interviews carried out on Selayar in 1990 and 1991. Heersink's study encompasses the whole known history of Selayar up to 1950, and touches on almost all aspects of life on the island in that period. Its main focus, however, is on the copra era (1870-1950), and its most important theme is the impact of the copra trade on the society, politics, and ecology of Selayar.

The narrative part of the book begins with a reconstruction of the economy and politics of 'early Selayar' in which the insights of Southeast Asianists like Adas, Reid, Schulte Nordholt and Sutherland are deftly interwoven with

information from the primary and secondary historical sources on Selayar. Heersink stresses the fragmentary and unstable character of political authority on the island, the early development of a commercial orientation in the form of a handicraft textile industry producing cotton cloths for export, and the close link between control of trade and success in the constant contest for political power. After two chapters on the period from 1660 to 1850, Heersink continues with a lucid account of how the international copra boom developed and how European plantation enterprises proved unable to match the efficiency of Indonesian smallholders as copra producers. Much attention is paid to copra trading networks: on Selayar these were entirely dominated by ethnic Chinese traders, but Heersink also notes how elsewhere in Sulawesi 'mutual solidarity and a zealous Islamic ideology' (p. 205) enabled some indigenous entrepreneurs with strongly Muslim identities to compete with the cohesive Chinese networks. The historical narrative culminates in concise accounts of the Great Depression and the rise of Islamic reformism, both developments which tended to undermine the existing political elite, and ends with a short summary of events during the Japanese and revolutionary periods (1942-1950).

Apart from a brief discussion of Orientalism, the theoretical component of *Dependence on green gold* is limited to Marxist and core-periphery theories of underdevelopment dating from the 1960s and 70s. Heersink claims to be critical of these, stressing the importance of local and indigenous agency within international economic structures. In practice, nevertheless, he mostly follows the dependency theorists in characterizing the effects of engagement with the world economy in terms of 'dependence', 'peripheralization', 'subordination', and 'capitalist penetration'. One of his most interesting arguments is that the people of Selayar were forced to participate in commerce by their 'marginal' foodcrop agriculture, which was 'unable to produce enough to feed the large population' (p. 2). But here Heersink overlooks an important question: *why* was Selayar's population already dense at a time when large parts of mainland Sulawesi, and many other parts of Indonesia, were still almost uninhabited? Rather than becoming commercialized because it was overpopulated, is it not more likely that Selayar became populous because its thriving commerce enabled it to support a large population by importing food and other necessities? Of course this would be a difficult question to answer, but the fact that Heersink does not pose it seems to reflect an underlying assumption that if people are producing for export, then they are probably doing so under some kind of duress – or even, as he explicitly proposes in his concluding chapter, out of some kind of blindness.

Unfortunately, the glitter of gold often makes people blind; so too the Selayarese. As they became totally dependent on copra exports and the whims of the world market, most economic alternatives were either abandoned voluntarily or destroyed by the impact of wider economic forces. In addition, the fragile equi-



librium between the export of cash crops and the import of food was endangered as coconut growing expanded at the cost of subsistence production [...]. When copra prices finally collapsed due to the Depression of 1929, the overdependence of Selayar on the world market was laid painfully bare, and the local economy was paralysed. (pp. 323-4).

It is striking that this apocalyptic conclusion is not entirely borne out by Heersink's own description, elsewhere in the book, of Selayar during the Depression years (pp. 277-9). The sale of luxury imports like expensive textiles did collapse temporarily after 1929, but this was compensated for by increased domestic production 'as people again chose to wear cheap, locally produced cloth' (p. 278). The volume of food imports, the prices of which presumably fell in line with the buying power of consumers, seems not even to have been affected by the crisis – although Heersink is not fully clear on this point, and does mention some increase in local food production. Savings, in the form of gold and jewellery, were extensively drawn upon to tide people over, but here the question arises whether these savings would have been available on the same scale had it not been for copra. Nowhere does Heersink mention hunger or destitution, and all in all his account gives the impression that the crisis was short-lived and that most people were able to cope with it effectively, either by falling back on savings or by reverting with surprising speed to subsistence production. In taking full advantage of the demand for copra during the boom years, then, the people of Selayar were perhaps not so short-sighted after all. Were areas which had not specialized so heavily in copra really so much better off during the Depression? Here and elsewhere, *Dependence on green gold* might have benefited from a more rigorous attempt to test its propositions and weigh up alternative hypotheses against the evidence.

To judge the book on that basis, however, would be unfair, for in the last analysis *Dependence on green gold* is not a work which sets out to expound ideas or test hypotheses, but one which exists to tell the story of a place, its people, and the opportunities they siezed and missed. In this Heersink succeeds admirably, synthesizing scattered and diverse sources into a coherent narrative which never lacks clarity, which is detailed without ever losing its way among the details, and which navigates skilfully between people and statistics: tables of population, tax and trade figures are nicely complemented by accounts of the lives and deeds of named aristocrats, entrepreneurs, and religious figures. Christiaan Heersink has written a readable, thorough and thought-provoking social history.

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James T. Siegel and Audrey R. Kahin (eds), *Southeast Asia over three generations; Essays presented to Benedict R.O'G. Anderson* 2003, 398 pp. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program. [Studies on Southeast Asia 36.] ISBN 0.87727.735.4. Price: USD 21 (paperback).

DAVID HICKS

Seventeen essays, introduced by Siegel and Kahin, comprise this bulky volume presented to Ben Anderson. Siegel's contribution to the introduction pays a personal homage to Anderson as it extols the influence he has exercised on the three generations of students he has taught at Cornell, a legacy the contributors in their distinctive ways endorse in the essays themselves, while Kahin, for her part, focuses on the articles and presents a summary of each. Both editors provide useful prolegomena to the studies that follow them, and it is to be regretted that the space of a short review makes it impossible to give more than an indication of what this collection offers a potential reader. Nevertheless, the following comments on a selected few will, it is hoped, prove useful.

The refreshingly eclectic character of this volume becomes plain from a quick glance at some of the subtitles of its articles, 'The construction of national heroes and/or heroines' by Charnvit Kasetsiri, 'The origin of modern surveillance politics in Indonesia' by Takashi Shiraishi, 'On Rizal's *El Filibusterismo*' by Vicente L. Rafael, and 'The making and unmaking of *jihād* in Southeast Asia' by John T. Sidel. Two of these, those of Kasetsiri and Sidel, deal with transnational aspects of Southeast Asian nations; the others find their inspiration in more geographically specific loci. Vietnam, Malaysia, and Burma are represented, but Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand dominate the scene. Considering Anderson's public interest in its people's sufferings under the Indonesian military occupation, however, East Timor surprisingly finds no champion. For a substantial number of the contributors one connecting element, besides the pervasive influence of Anderson's scholarship, weaves its way through much of the book, and that is literature. Even when analyzing political behavior, evaluating historical events, or interpreting social facts, fictional allusions make an appearance in many of the articles. Thus, for example, Patricio N. Abinales's study compares 'On Marriage', an official statement issued in 1977 by the Philippine Communist party regulating sex and even love among its members, with fictional portraits of how individuals, including party cadres, really behave. Perceptively analyzing a picaresque novel by Luang Wichit Wathakan, which attained considerable celebrity after its publication in 1949 in Thailand, Thak Chaloemtiarana describes how the novelist *Huang Rak Haew Luk* (*Sea of love*,

*Chasm of death*) challenges traditional Thai representations of women. Rather than conforming to the conventional requirement that a woman should be a reticent, nurturing, and stay-at-home female the author has the lead character, Praphimphan, undertake a murderous career of pathological ferocity that is devoid of any sense of responsibility either to herself or those who have the misfortune to encounter her in her travels across two continents. Despite its rabid self-destructive import, however, the 'message' purportedly delivered by the novelist is one that supposedly might serve as a 'Thelma-and-Louise' model for the modern Thai woman, an actualization that mercifully has not come to pass. Also concerned with the struggle of individuals to establish a sense of their own identity is Tsuyoshi Kato's analysis of six Indonesian novels published between 1919 and 1933 that describe the relationship between what he refers to as their 'radical imagining' (p. 120) and such alien European concepts as time and space within the context of urban Indonesian life. The insights literature can impart in political and social understandings inspire the contributions of Caroline S. Hau, who writes about Philippine and Chinese 'nationness', and Peter Zinoman who discusses the novel *The storm* in the context of Vietnamese Communism.

On a less than literary note, the harsh realities of military brutality provide the subject for Mary P. Callahan who attempts to explain why the Burmese armed forces (*tatmadaw*) slaughtered civilians in the uprising of 1988 whereas those of Indonesia (ABRI) surprisingly refrained from doing so and thereby in effect colluded in the overthrow of president Suharto. Her cogent answer highlights their contrasting internal organizations and historical relationships with the local populace. Protest is also a theme of Douglas Kammen's discussion of Indonesian village elections.

The imaginative verve of this diverse anthology is a worthy accolade to one of the doyens of Southeast Asian scholarship whose own imagination has so obviously inspired its authors.

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L. de Jong, *The collapse of a colonial society; The Dutch in Indonesia during the Second World War*. With an introduction by Jeroen Kemperman. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002, 570 pp. [Verhandelingen 206.] ISBN 90.6718.203.6. Price: EUR 25 (hardback).

JANNY DE JONG

In the years 1984-1986 Dutch historian Lou (Louis) de Jong published five volumes on the Dutch East Indies as part of his *magnum opus* on *The Kingdom of the Netherlands in the Second World War*. The commission which he had

obtained in 1955 from the Ministry of Education and Science to write this history had almost come to an end, only an epilogue and a supplement, both also in two volumes, were still to follow. All in all the 27 volumes written by De Jong amount to some 15,000 pages: as another famous Dutch historian, Ernst Heinrich Kossmann, once remarked, this makes the work unique; so many pages written by one man about five years in the history of such a small country! That in fact De Jong discussed a lot more than just these 5 years did not escape Kossmann's attention, of course.

Part 11a of the series covers the history of the Dutch East Indies from the earliest Dutch presence to the capitulation of the Royal Dutch Indonesian army in March 1942; Part 11b is about the occupation up to the proclamation of the Indonesian Republic (17 august 1945); Part 11c centres on the Dutch administration in Australia during the war, its contribution to the Allied war efforts and the preparation for the return of the Dutch colonial administration.

It was in 2002 that an English translation of five of the ten chapters of Part 11b was published under the title *The collapse of a colonial society*. The reason for this publication, 17 years after its appearance in Dutch, lies in a grant from the Japanese government to the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD) for the implementation of research and documentation projects on the long history of relations between Japan and the Netherlands. Two questions arise in this respect. The first is whether the text remains consistent after it has been reduced by half; the second, more important, question is whether it has stood the test of time.

The first question can be answered positively. Kemperman has written a fine introduction in which he gives sufficient information on both the war-time strategy of the Japanese and the situation in the Indies before December 1941, including of course the nationalist movement. Both for this reason and because sufficient English-language literature already exists on the subject, the omitted chapters on Indonesian nationalism up to the proclamation of the Indonesian republic are not strictly necessary. Another reason why this strategy was a fortunate one is that De Jong was justly criticized for viewing the collaboration of Sukarno in terms that paid too little attention to the colonial context.

When part 11b was published, critical remarks were made about the fact that De Jong had not considered it his task to undertake new research, but rather gave a survey of the research that had been done already. At that point much more information was available on life inside than outside the prison camps. Some of these gaps in information grew smaller after the date of publication, and the more recent historiography might have been given more attention in the introduction. One thinks here, for instance, of the oral history project which has resulted in the volume on *Memories of 'the East'* edited by

Fridus Steijlen (2002), and the diaries project in which the writer of the introduction was himself involved.

Therefore the question of whether this book is still valuable enough to merit a translation into English is somewhat more difficult to answer. It is a fact, however, that there is no previous scholarly study in English on the Dutch and Dutch Eurasians during the Japanese occupation. Most studies on the Japanese occupation concentrate on the history of Indonesian nationalism, or how the Japanese policy influenced the situation of Indonesian peasants, as in the excellent study by Shigeru Sato (1994). Anyone interested in how (surprisingly easily) the Netherlands lost control in their former colony, in the resistance and clandestine activities, in the depressed situation of the economy during the war years, in what happened to the prisoners of war and the (very large) number of internees, and in the difficult situation in which the Dutch Eurasians found themselves, may now turn to this book.

But the reader must be prepared for a rather extensive, detailed account. De Jong's books are written in a strictly narrative style and give a lot of attention to what eye-witnesses have said, either in interviews or in diaries and secondary literature. This was part of the aim to reach a large Dutch audience, an aim in which De Jong succeeded very well, but whether so much detail is also relevant to international readers remains to be seen.

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Grayson Lloyd and Shannon Smith (eds), *Indonesia today: Challenges of history*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2001, 359 pp. ISBN 981.230138.0, price USD 34.95 (paperback); 981.230139.9, 83 (hardback).

GERRY VAN KLINKEN

The annual Indonesia Update series has brought together the best scholars on Indonesia at the Australian National University for two decades. This book of papers from the 2000 conference has a historical theme. Authors were asked to survey the past as well as provide the more conventional 'update' on recent events. This was a tall order. The result is somewhat mixed. Some contributions have no history at all. The effect is not enhanced by aimless generalities in the opening and closing editorial reflections. Even so, many authors open up suggestive lines of enquiry about the meaning of the past today.

Contributions are divided into political, economic, and social history. The political section revolves around comparisons between the 1950s and the post-New Order era, with evocative pieces among others on leadership styles (Angus McIntyre), political parties (Greg Fealy), regional rebellion (Richard

Chauvel), and conservative ideology (David Bourchier). Only four well-documented papers consider the whole twentieth century: Pierre van der Eng and Howard Dick on economics, Merl Ricklefs on the failures of various visions of the future, and Susan Blackburn on 'what women want'. Some consider only the New Order – notably Thee Kian Wie on economics. Others are stimulating think-pieces with little new data – for example Adrian Vickers on the exceptionality of the New Order, Goenawan Mohamad on the (im)possibility of justice for 1965/66, Tim Lindsey on 'the criminal state', and Robert Cribb on the prospect that Java might get tired of running the empire.

With the exception of Van der Eng, who argues that the twentieth century has really been a long economic success story (the latecomer advantage), most contributions are written in a strikingly minor key. 'Why has Indonesia's recent past been so replete with recurring tragedy?' asks Bob Elson. 'The list of leadership groups who have failed the nation [...] is discouragingly long and comprehensive', writes Ricklefs. This pessimism reflects a widespread disappointment with the failures of *reformasi*, also in Indonesia itself. It gives the book a somewhat jaded feel, which is unfortunate. So many questions suggest themselves when we begin to imagine a history of Indonesia in the twentieth century. So few of them are taken up in this volume.

The twentieth century in Indonesia certainly makes an attractive frame of analysis. The Dutch 'Ethical Policy' of 1901 and Suharto's resignation of 1998 bracket a century of state formation and nation-building. But no one directly addresses these two grand themes. Nor do we see Indonesia at the crossroads of the world in this volume – it remains a closed system. Even more important than what happened, perhaps, is how it is remembered. John Legge begins to address the historiography of Indonesia, but gets stuck in the 1960s. Nevertheless, this is a pioneering collection. It invites further work.

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Frédéric Durand, *Timor Lorosa'e, pays au carrefour de l'Asie et du Pacifique; Un atlas géo-historique*. Marne-la-Vallée: Presses Universitaires de Marne-la-Vallée, 2002, 208 pp. ISBN 2.914550.01.4. Price: EUR 30 (paperback).

JOHANNA VAN REENEN

In the final decades of the twentieth century a considerable number of books were published concerning the drama of the people of East Timor. These books usually focused on the period since the Indonesian invasion in 1975. They emphasized the necessity to respect the principles of the universal right to auto-determination for former colonies. The book in hand, an atlas

by the French geographer Frederic Durand, was devoid of that urgency as it appeared at the threshold of East Timor's independence in May 2002.

With this atlas Durand has taken the opportunity to show that East Timor is not 'only' a political and humanitarian case, but that it also represents a considerable diversity, both as a nation and in terms of the people who inhabit it. The author shows that the mere fact that East Timor is a small country with just over 800,000 inhabitants is not enough reason to question its viability as a nation. As a matter of fact, it is still bigger than one quarter of all countries in the world. The present atlas helps us to understand how its people were able to resist a vast military occupation for nearly twenty-five years. The physical dimension is of importance here, and so is history. A variety of maps are provided to show the ethno-linguistic, cultural and economic characteristics of the local communities and the relations of the numerous Timorese kingdoms with the former Portuguese colonizers. Between 1704 and 1912, more than two centuries of construction and combat had already started to forge the soul of a people that aspired to freedom. The book also examines the weaknesses and ambiguities of Portuguese colonial power in 1974-1975. According to Durand, the Portuguese did not really 'abandon' East Timor. Rather, in the troubled situation of the time, they preferred to enter into dialogue with the Indonesian government instead of turning East Timor into an international issue. In addition the atlas pays some attention to the fact that Timor is an island, even though history has divided it into two parts. The comparison of the geo-physical, ethno-linguistic and economic particularities of these two parts is useful as a means to imagine how East Timor could position itself in the Asia-Pacific region and administer its relations with its neighbour Indonesia.

A definite merit of this book are the numerous demographic, economic and political data on three important periods: the late colonial period, the Indonesian period, and the years leading up to independence (2000-2001). Moreover, in contrast to most other works, which tend to focus on the territory as a whole, the present book analyses data at the level of sub-districts. A large number of maps and figures illustrate the text. The atlas includes previously unpublished cartographic works.

In my view, Durand's geo-historic atlas is highly recommended literature for both laymen and experts on East Timor. It is comprehensive, easy to read for those who read French, and it has an appealing lay-out. The author has an eye for variation and heterogeneity as well as for the binding factors in Timorese society. This book would merit being translated into English and Portuguese so as to make it more widely accessible, not least to the East Timorese themselves.

This being said, I would like to make a few marginal notes. First, in contrast to the beautiful and informative maps, the dozens of photographs are of

mediocre quality and add little to the text. Second, the author's conclusions, which centre on the future prospects of East Timor, have been formulated in a slightly careful way. In my opinion there is a growing potential for disappointment, discontent and power struggles within the society of East Timor and in its administration. But then, it is admittedly tricky and also premature to speculate on the future of such a young and fragile nation.

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Mona Abaza, *Debates on Islam and knowledge in Malaysia and Egypt; Shifting worlds*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002, xix + 304 pp. ISBN 0.7007.1505.3. Price: GBP 60 (hardback).

WILLIAM R. ROFF

In March 1977 the First World Conference on Muslim Education was convened in Mecca, and deliberated for eight days. From it in there stemmed in the years that followed a veritable industry. An International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) was set up, headquartered at Herndon, Virginia, in the United States with numerous branch offices. International Islamic Universities were established in Pakistan and Malaysia. An Association of Muslim Social Scientists founded earlier in Cologne adopted the IIIT agenda. Several more international conferences have taken place, and there has been a major publishing programme. Three Muslim intellectuals in particular are associated with the Islamizing discourse that flowed from the 1977 conference: the Palestinian-American Ismail Raji al-Faruqi, the Malaysian Sayyid Naquib al-Attas, and the Iranian Sayyid Hossein Nasr. All three, profoundly Islamist in outlook, were the product of Western tertiary education, and acutely aware of what Faruqi called 'the malaise of the Muslim ummah', captive to intellectual categories, concepts and analytical tools derived, under colonial domination, from Western secular science and society. It was necessary, in consequence, to 'Islamize' all forms of knowledge by imbuing the theory and practice of the natural and social sciences with the Islamic precepts and values mandated by the foundational texts of the Qur'an and Sunna, in short to reunite revelation and reason.

What 'Islamization of knowledge' might in practice mean rapidly became disputed territory, to some extent among its progenitors, but also for other Muslim intellectuals sceptical and occasionally scornful about the possibilities of a specifically Islamic mathematics, physics, anthropology, or even economics (though in some ways this has been the most successful part of the enterprise). It is the resulting debates and discourses, located in this study in two of the poles of the phenomenon, Egypt and Malaysia – to be precise,



Cairo and Kuala Lumpur – that form the substance of Abaza's enquiry. Alas, the author's own discursive mode presents problems for the reader, marred as it is by inchoate presentation and a text replete with reference to the work of others but often devoid of clear or consistent arguments of its own. This is especially evident in the first section of the book, 'Introductory reflections', in which the author traverses familiar contested issues relating to essentialism, Orientalism, globalism and localism, and provides an introduction to the 'landscapes' of the two cities (with woeful inaccuracies about Kuala Lumpur) and their contrasting intellectual personnel and climates.

What is perhaps the most interesting section of the book follows, with four chapters devoted to 'Biographies and travelling ideas', in which are discussed in turn the life and works of Faruqi, Naquib al-Attas, Hossein Nasr, and Al-Attas' brother Hussein. Full of personal detail, sometimes controversial and gossipy, they provide along with intellectual biography a vivid picture of the reception of Islamization ideas in several contrasting environments. Along with this they document, almost incidentally, the global reach and interconnectedness of the movement, its texts and their authors as readily acceptable in Riyadh and Philadelphia as in Kuala Lumpur or Cairo. The final section of the book discusses some of these 'trajectories', with an especially informative chapter on the Islamization of knowledge debate in Egypt and the role of the Cairo office of the IIIT.

The subject of the book is important and continues to engage the interest and involvement of many more distinguished Muslim intellectuals than have been named here. It is unfortunate that Abaza, in this pioneering study, has been so poorly served by her publisher, who on the evidence has failed to provide the editorial attention (and sheer proof reading) that might have clarified some of its confusions, and eliminated the literals, dropped and repeated words, misspellings, and grammatical oddities with which the text abounds.

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Chr. van Fraassen en H. Straver (eds), *G.E. Rumphius, De Ambonse eilanden onder de VOC, zoals opgetekend in 'De Ambonse landbeschrijving'*. Utrecht: Landelijk Steunpunt Educatie Molukkers, 2002, 254 pp. ISBN 90.76729.29.8. Prijs: EUR 27,50 (gebonden).

MARIËTTE VAN SELM

*Terlepas dari mulut buaya, masuk ke mulut harimau* – ben je verlost uit de bek van de krokodil, beland je in de muil van de tijger – is een Maleise uitdruk-

king die uiterst kernachtig de lotgevallen van de bevolking van de Midden-Molukken gedurende de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw weergeeft. Hoofden en bevolking zochten hun weg tussen Javaanse en Makassarse handelaren, Portugezen, machthebbers van Ternate (Noord-Molukken), Engelsen en, *last but not least*, de VOC.

Centraal in alle verwickelingen stond de teelt van en handel in kruidnagelen, een van oorsprong uitsluitend in de Noord-Molukken verbouwde specerij die in de loop van de zestiende eeuw ook in de Midden-Molukken geïntroduceerd werd. Nadat in een harde militaire campagne, bekend geworden als de Ambonse Oorlog (1651-1656), de kruidnagelcultuur in de Noord-Molukken was uitgeroeid en de monopoliepositie van de VOC voor langere tijd was veiliggesteld, werd op Ambon opdracht gegeven voor het vervaardigen van een beschrijving van de Midden-Molukse eilanden. Deze moest dienen om zittende en toekomstige 'dienaren' van de VOC voor hun bestuurswerk nuttige achtergrondinformatie over het gebied te verschaffen.

De opdracht belandde bij Rumphius (1627-1702), te Wölfersheim (Hessen) geboren als Georg Everhard Rumpf en sedert 1654 in dienst van de VOC werkzaam op Ambon. Hij wijdde zich, hoewel hij sinds 1670 blind was, tussen 1672 en 1678 aan het samenstellen van wat twee documenten zouden worden: de *Ambonse landbeschrijving* en de *Ambonse historie*. Oorspronkelijk was de *landbeschrijving* door Rumphius bedoeld als inleiding op de *historie*, maar dat geschrift opent met een geheel herschreven versie van de laatste (historische) hoofdstukken uit de *landbeschrijving*.

De waarde van de *landbeschrijving* ligt in de eerste veertien hoofdstukken: Rumphius' beschrijving van landschappen, ligging van nederzettingen, opmerkelijke natuurverschijnselen, verschillende bevolkingsgroepen, etnografische bijzonderheden, en lokale en regionale maatschappelijke verhoudingen. In opdracht van het Landelijk Steunpunt Educatie Molukkers (Utrecht) verzorgden Chris van Fraassen en Hans Straver een nieuwe uitgave van dit gedeelte van de *Ambonse landbeschrijving*.

Het gaat daarbij om méér dan een 'simpele' heruitgave van een oud manuscript. De *landbeschrijving* was niet bedoeld voor publicatie, maar bestemd om te dienen als 'werkdokument' voor VOC-beambten. Afschriften van de beschrijving zijn derhalve in de loop van de tijd door zowel Rumphius zelf als anderen bijgewerkt en aangevuld, ten koste van de consistentie en opbouw van de tekst. Van Fraassen en Straver hebben op basis van verschillende versies van het manuscript een zo compleet mogelijke tekst vastgesteld. Deze hebben zij vervolgens, om het manuscript voor een breder publiek toegankelijk te maken, naar modern Nederlands vertaald. Ook is Rumphius' tekst door hen voorzien van tussenkopjes en van verklarende noten in de kantlijn.

In achttien 'kaderteksten' die over het boek verspreid zijn, bieden Van

Fraassen en Straver de lezer achtergrondinformatie die zij voor een goed begrip van Rumphius' tekst van belang achten. Zo komen kernbegrippen uit de Molukse samenleving en geschiedenis – *ulisiwa* en *ulilima, pela, kakehan* – aan de orde, wordt in kort bestek de (voor)geschiedenis van de kruidnagelteelt en -handel geschetst, en wordt aandacht besteed aan (de geschiedenis van) sociale en bestuurlijke structuren.

De kaderteksten zijn zowel beschrijvend als, waar het gaat om de consequenties van VOC-ingrijpen of gebrek daaraan, analytisch van aard. Wie in korte tijd een goede basiskennis over de zeventiende-eeuwse Ambonse eilanden wil opdoen, heeft veel aan deze kaderteksten. De kadertekst over spelling en uitspraak van het Maleis en de verschillende lokale Ambonse talen (p. 36) kan daarbij worden overgeslagen. In de inleiding had deze toelichting op tekstweergave en standaardisatie niet misstaan; temidden van toelichtingen op de inhoud van Rumphius' tekst is deze kadertekst een vreemde eend in de bijt.

Speciaal voor deze uitgave werden, op basis van aanwijzingen in Rumphius' tekst, topografische kaarten vervaardigd waarop zowel de door Rumphius' beschreven topografie rond het jaar 1675 als de door hem als 'vroeger' genoemde ligging van dorpen is weergegeven. Daarnaast werd geput uit de rijkdom aan prenten in Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën (1724-1726) van ds. François Valentijn – die zich bij zijn beschrijving van de Ambonse eilanden voor een zeer groot deel op de geschriften van Rumphius baseerde – en uit inkttekeningen die door Hans Straver werden aangetroffen bij een te Brussel bewaard manuscript over de Ambonse Oorlog (1658) van Livinius Bor.

Een verklarende woordenlijst, registers van plaats- en persoonsnamen, een lijst van gouverneurs van Ambon en een korte literatuuropgave maken het boek af. Het boek is ruim opgezet en zeer mooi uitgevoerd. Het is jammer dat slordigheden als 'zeventiende geschiedenis' (zeventiende-eeuwse geschiedenis, p. 9) en 'titelatuur' (titulatuur, p. 98) tijdens de drukproefcorrectie aan de aandacht zijn ontsnapt, en dat een lijst van afbeeldingen ontbreekt. Niettemin vormt dit boek een aanwinst voor hen die, uit persoonlijke of professionele betrokkenheid, in de geschiedenis van de Molukken geïnteresseerd zijn.

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Prema-Chandra Athukorala, *Crisis and recovery in Malaysia; The role of capital controls*. Cheltenham: Elgar, 2001, xii + 159 pp. ISBN 1.8406.462.17. Price: GBP 45 (hardback).

K. THIRUMARAN

Authukorala posits that Malaysia's financial crisis stemmed from its depend-

ence on portfolio investments and a 'considerable build-up of short-term borrowing' (p. 3). Interspersed occasionally with political commentary on the crisis period, this book illustrates the successful use of capital controls to tame the recession and turn the economy around.

The author concludes that access to domestic financial resources was a vital aid to the smooth management of the crisis by means of capital controls, and a major factor behind the eventual recovery. However, he cautions against relying on and continuing this approach when the economy rebounds. The biggest hurdle, he suggests, will be that of redeeming the financial system and reverting to macroeconomic prudence. We also learn that capital control did not adversely affect foreign direct investment, that it initiated consolidation of domestic resources through restructuring, and that it militated against potentially negative market opinions.

In a brief introductory discussion of the history of economic development in Malaysia, the author does not explain why the country moved from import substitution to market orientation other than by noting its 'commitment to an open trade regime' (p. 11). This 'explanation' is symptomatic of recent scholarly works which do not fully elucidate the issue or educate, as *Crisis and recovery in Malaysia* aspires to do, the 'wider student readership' (p. x). And was the switch a positive move? Did it not increase the country's vulnerability to exogenous business cycle shocks and speculative capital outflows?

Another drawback of the book is Authukorala's failure to expound a comprehensive way of understanding the financial collapse. Apart from citing the cascading effect of the Thai baht depreciation and its subsequent impact, the book does not explain why the investors did Malaysia in. Was there a political dimension to the withdrawals? Without investigating fully the regional-global political and economic factors for the cause of the Malaysian ringgit's fall, Authukorala suggests that 'fund managers around the globe began to test the currencies' of Southeast Asia. Why was this test done on this region? One theory propounded by some analysts was that the investment community was unhappy with Myanmar's entry into the ASEAN, which was announced on 31 May 1997 and took place in July of that year. Was Mahathir quite right in his rantings against George Soros' investment ploys? Is there any hard evidence of collusion? Or did investors simply predict the bubble bursting in Malaysia and the downside of a worldwide business cycle approaching? An international relations and political economy perspective would usefully have supplemented Authukorala's economic case study analysis here.

The chapters are organized in an excellent way with introductory briefs and concluding remarks, and there is a semblance of unity amongst the nine chapter divisions. The book also provides a useful chronology of events leading up to the 'crisis, policy response and recovery' (p. 117). Readers in the field of economics now have a contemporary case study of an instance

in which capital controls, combined with expansionary monetary and fiscal policies, seem to have provided a viable alternative to the International Monetary Fund's 'imposed' policy prescriptions.

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John Hilley, *Malaysia; Mahathirism, hegemony and the new opposition*. London: Zed Books, 2001, xiii + 305 pp. ISBN 1.85649.917.0, price GBP 50 (hardback); 1.85649.918.9, GBP 16.95 (paperback).

K. THIRUMARAN

This fascinating work explores Mahathir's years in power as Malaysia's third prime minister, and describes the resulting polarization of state structures, fragmentation of the social polity, and generation of a potentially viable opposition bloc in Malaysia. *Malaysia; Mahathirism, hegemony and the new opposition* is Hilley's first book, based on his doctoral thesis. Composed in a framework which is both theoretical and contemplative, the book is organized into nine chapters, each with its own specific and interrelated agenda. There is also a helpful index of subjects and a list of abbreviations.

Hilley renders his subject in the context of local-global discourse, so that Malaysian issues and events are interceded by and interspersed with extraneous factors. For example, the 1997 financial crisis and the subsequent political fallout between Mahathir and his sacked deputy prime minister Anwar are portrayed in relation to the demise of the Suharto regime at the same period in Indonesia. The pressures on President Habibie had powerful ramifications for Malaysian politics: according to Hilley, the opposition led by Anwar was inspired as well as paralleled by the street protests and the campaigns against corruption and authoritarianism going on in Indonesia.

Mahathirism is predicated on economic growth, and on the accumulation and projection of hegemonic power through state and societal structures. Hilley seems to suggest that because of this project, a new opposition bloc is emerging which may make it possible to countervail Mahathirism. To be viable, Hilley believes, the new opposition bloc needs to be cooperative and must derive its power from a widening basis of 'social and sectoral, rather than just ethnic support' (p. 267). In principle this conclusion is on target, but in practice the capacities of, and the level of cooperation among, the various opposition groups, many of which depend precisely on ethnic or religious support bases, suggests that the undoing of the Barisan National (BN) by the opposition bloc will not be possible in the immediate future.

An interesting question that springs from reading this book is whether, given the shifts in Malay politics and the changing socio-economic cleav-

ages within Malaysian society in the twenty-first century, the United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) will survive as a leading party within the BN model of electioneering. Should UMNO attempt 'to develop a broad ethnic base' through gerrymandering, or should it instead 'seek to reclaim its lost Malay following through a more pronounced religious agenda' (p. 263)? The first option might dilute the party's own bargaining power in the BN coalition, while the second would require it to return to grassroots needs with impeccable qualified Islamic leaders. One important issue that the book does not touch on is the spectre of a non-Malay prime minister if election trends continue on a 'proto-class' basis, a possibility raised by Mahathir himself.

Hilley suggests that 'the Malays seek economic prosperity and political reform rather than more Islamisation policies' (p. 263). But this statement is not substantiated by surveys or corroborated with references, and its accuracy may therefore be doubted. While material gains and democratic reforms may be desirable, Islamization policies should not be judged as antithetical to progress.

The Mahathir project may leave a legacy of an emasculated judiciary and a complex politico-economic landscape in which future election results are difficult to predict. Amid this complexity and fluidity, *Malaysia; Mahathirism, hegemony and the new opposition* manages to cover numerous issues in detail and with a degree of fairness. At once comprehensive and incisive, it will disappoint neither the generalist, nor the specialist reader seeking in-depth information.

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Damien Kingsbury, Eric Loo and Patricia Payne (eds), *Foreign devils and other journalists*. Clayton VIC: Monash Asia Institute, 2000, vi + 277 pp. [Monash Papers on Southeast Asia 52.] ISBN 0.7326.1183.0. Price: AUD 27.50 (paperback).

REINA VAN DER WIEL

For the last twenty years or so, journalism has been a considerable source of friction between Australia and Southeast Asia. Particularly in Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia, the Australian media has been a target of criticism. The thirteen provocative essays in *Foreign devils and other journalists* seek to find the grounds on which this criticism is based. Moreover, by means of looking at significant reporting stories, they explore the differences in how Australia and Southeast Asia view (the role of) journalism and the way this affects their relationship.

In general discussions, cultural difference is presented as the simple

explanation for the discords mentioned above. Australia has the longest tradition of free press in the region and the journalists there are free – perhaps even expected – to initiate open discussion of social and political wrongs. Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia, on the contrary, are to a lesser or greater degree authoritarian and censorship is a fact of life there. Since Australian journalists mainly focus on what interests and concerns Australian audiences, and openly and critically write on subjects which are considered inappropriate in Southeast Asia, they are often accused of being culturally ignorant and insensitive by governments in the region.

Most of the essays in *Foreign devils and other journalists*, however, express a different view. Overall they maintain that culture is often cited as an acceptable justification for actions whose real motives may lie elsewhere, such as in political and economical interests. Rodney Tiffen, for example, stresses the limited role that culture plays in the political conflicts by showing how there was little discernible conflict between Australia and Indonesia between 1966 and 1974 since the New Order regime received a mainly favourable press at that time. Furthermore, Damien Kingsbury claims that the criticism of Australian journalism is based more on expediency (from the point of view of regional leaders) than on anything else. The criticism often appears to be 'a failure to recognise [...] the normative quality of a relatively unfettered "watchdog" role for the news media' (p. 22). Angela Romano elaborates on this by stating that foreign correspondents are situated in 'the national heartland of political power, business and economical consumption' (p. 51). Therefore, journalism is likely to 'expose and redefine the ways in which social and power relationships are organised, exercised, negotiated and maintained' (pp. 51-2). Due to this strategic importance, Romano claims, the media's role is subject of discussion and manipulation.

Although each of the essays in *Foreign devils and other journalists* offers its own insights and viewpoints, and some of them are focused on very specific topics, there is sufficient similarity between the essays to justify their assembly in this collection. Each paper analyses in one way or the other the complex role of the news media in the region by taking into account the cultural, political, economic and technological backgrounds, and the potential for conflict between media and government. Although these are not the most straightforward topics, the essays are interesting as well as readable and I would certainly recommend them.

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## REVIEW ESSAY

JENNIFER FRASER

**Discovering the music of Indonesia**

Philip Yampolsky (ed.), *Music of Indonesia*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 1991-2000, 20 compact discs plus a CD of selections from the series, *Discover Indonesia*. All with accompanying booklets. SFW CD 40055-7, 40420-29, 40441-7, 40484. Price: Volumes 1-20, USD 15 each; *Discover Indonesia*, USD 6.99.

## I

Introductions to Indonesia have long referenced the diversity of the country with its many geographical, religious, cultural and linguistic differences. Musical representations of this diversity, however, have been scarce until recently. The *Music of Indonesia* series, since the publication of the first albums in 1991, has played a significant role in the expansion of musical knowledge about Indonesia. Issuing recordings of many musical practices for the first time, the series introduces numerous neglected areas of a country previously epitomized by the large, complex *gamelan* forms found in Java and Bali.

This series, also released in an Indonesian version, is remarkable, and was possible, because it has been a collaborative affair from the outset. Produced by Smithsonian Folkways Recordings in conjunction with the Masyarakat Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia (MSPI, Indonesian Performing Arts Society), the series was funded through a Ford Foundation grant. While the series editor, Philip Yampolsky, has been the driving and unifying force behind the project, it was clearly only accomplished with the work and assistance of many others, especially the Indonesian musical and scholarly community. Credit is given first and foremost to the musicians themselves, followed by the team of researchers, recording assistants, and photographers who assisted on each individual album, along with the local communities that made fieldwork possible. Frequently specialists in a given area were consulted during the various stages of research, and sometimes they are also credited as co-authors of individual albums.

The fundamental intention of the series is to present, in the space of twenty albums, a picture of Indonesia's incredible musical diversity – an ambitious



project by anyone's standards. While the approach is to survey and sample the broadest range of practices possible, the focus is on those least familiar; musics already frequently recorded (including Javanese and Balinese *gamelan*, and most commercial pop) are not integrated into the series. Because much of the research is original, it is admitted on the first page of the booklet accompanying each volume, some of the results are necessarily 'introductory and exploratory' in nature.

How to represent the music of a country? Clearly there are myriad feasible approaches; in making choices for inclusion there are always exclusions. While the editorial team is certainly aware of these limitations, it is nonetheless worth briefly discussing the aspects emphasized in the series together with those not addressed. The music on offer covers the geographic span of Indonesia – from northern Sumatra in the west to Papua in the east, Kalimantan in the north to Sumba in the south – and originates in societies with disparate structures, cultural practices, religious beliefs, histories, and positions within contemporary Indonesia. The examples include an extensive array of vocal and instrumental idioms with the emphasis on communal, rather than solitary, musical practices. They also occur in a wide assortment of contexts, both ritual and secular, though given the dominance of Islam in Indonesia it is surprising that there are not more illustrations of Islamic music.

However, the unmistakable focus has been on music that, again in the words of the accompanying booklets (p. 1), 'may be termed traditional, in the sense that its scales, idioms, and repertoire do not in any obvious way derive from [...] [foreign] music'. I find this terminology problematic as it is hard to escape the connotation that while the music may be played in the present it is anchored in the past, thus placing the 'traditional' in opposition to the 'modern' and imposing a vision of one-dimensional trajectories of development (Turino 2000). Despite the claim that performers were not asked to 'reconstruct broken traditions or revive genres now regarded as unacceptable' (Vol. 17, p. 5), there is acknowledgment at other moments (as in the case of *raego* in Central Sulawesi) of the challenge of finding 'traditional' music and someone to perform it. Moreover, a general sentiment of mourning the loss or decline of genres is conveyed. For example, only two old *dhalang* were found to perform *jembrung* in west Central Java, with no replacements on the scene.

While some attention has been paid in the series to 'hybrid' forms and the indigenization of 'foreign' instruments, there is a predisposition towards the aesthetic of the 'traditional'. 'Foreign' musics are entirely unwelcome: for example, the orchestras of xylophones or bamboo brass bands playing European popular musics which appeared in Minahasan communities following Protestant conversion. With the exception of Volume 2, there is little popular music and no commercial music in the series. Also excluded is a whole range of contemporary practices often derived from the 'traditional'

practices shaped in response to government guidelines, media strategies, religious stances, or audience demand and practices with different aesthetic frameworks. Some of these forms are mentioned or alluded to in the notes (for example, *gandrung moderen* in Vol. 1 and *gambang moderen* or *gambang kromong pop* in Vol. 3), but we never get to hear them. My picture of Indonesia would seek more balance, including these musics by focusing on the continuities between them and pointing out the incongruities through juxtaposition; they *may* be less aesthetically pleasing (depending on your preferences), but nevertheless they are a vital part of the contemporary musical scene in Indonesia.

Each album is designed to be a coherent unit on its own. Themes are organized around geographic areas (an island or province), instrument or ensemble type, vocal music, contexts, culture areas or similar societies, and in one instance around one genre alone. While conceptually very convincing, this organizational strategy sometimes makes the albums – particularly those covering specific geographic areas – less aurally convincing, as adjustments must be made to very different types of music within a short amount of time. The occasionally perplexing ordering of tracks within an album does not facilitate flow; for example, the volume presenting string music from South Sulawesi has Bugis items scattered throughout the album with regard to some unarticulated logic. Nonetheless, this approach to thematic organization does make for easier ‘comparisons of similar musical materials across geographic and ethnic boundaries’ (Vol. 13, p. 8). Indeed, the links between the albums enhance the coherence of the series in general, especially as there is no apparent order to the arrangement of volumes. Important threads running through the series include gong ensembles with attention to diverse instrumentation and musical structure; the multiplicity of vocal forms, especially regarding texture; the dispersion and varying functions of similarly constructed string instruments; the pockets of ‘irregular’ meters; and the structure of textual material. Great care is taken in each album to show the unique and interesting nature of a musical practice not only in its own context, but also in reference to others.

Scattered throughout the liner notes of the series are explanations of the process behind the selection of themes and genres. More often than not, pragmatism has been the driving influence: arriving with expectations about the music of a certain area, only to find other musics more prominent; limitations of transport within isolated areas (for example, Maluku); finding someone who could, or would, perform a genre; or redesigning recording plans following deaths and in the face of tight schedules (Vol. 9). Sometimes the decisions were related more to considerations of organization and coherence within an album. ‘Occasionally’, Yampolsky even comments, ‘we made an aesthetic judgment that the genre [...] was of greater interest ethnographically or literarily than musically’ (Vol. 12, p. 4). In a reminder that the ‘coverage is representative rather than comprehensive’, we learn that each genre chosen ‘stands

for a number of others', either from the same geographical area or group of people, or 'of the same musical *type*' (Vol. 12, p. 3; emphasis in the original). An admirable approach, but without consistent reference to the exclusions, most of the audience will remain unaware of their existence. However, a wonderful addition of the series is planned: recordings from the series, including the many not making the final cut, will be deposited in the archives of MSPI and in the Smithsonian's Center for Folklife.

The recording quality in each of these albums is generally superb, partially thanks to the digital equipment, but also thanks to the recording strategies employed. Almost all of these examples were commissioned especially for the series, so there were opportunities to manipulate circumstances in pursuit of perfect recordings. Changes generated by recording out-of-context are frankly acknowledged: for example, the substitutions made for sacred drums in a Petalangan curing ritual (Vol. 7), the recording of the Kajang tracks in an isolated location because of prohibitions against the trappings of modern life, and the avoidance of strident sounds of accompanying bells, rattles and so on whenever there was a choice. The only drawback of the recording quality, then, is that listeners familiar with performances in Indonesia will notice a striking absence of the extra-musical sounds that typically accompany, and are very much a part of, events. Also part of the presentational strategy is the choice to include material excerpted from longer performances. In these cases, descriptions of the complete event or performance structure are given.

The liner notes for each volume are quite exceptional for the depth and breadth of introductory material and the meticulous documentation of each selection. Carefully researched and well-written, the introduction outlines the broad themes of an album, while the notes on selections cover material concerning instruments and ensemble formation, textual format and content, musical structure, tonal structure, and other relevant details. Colour photographs adorn the covers and maps are included, though I often felt a need for more illustrations of instruments, dances, and theater forms. Reference to previously published material – printed and audio, historical and recent – is given for every album, either in the notes or on the accompanying website (though some of these postings have yet to be completed), which serves in part to collate a wealth of research not easily accessible before. The supplemental material that is, and will be, provided on the companion website is another strength of the series. Furthermore, the planned addition of a printed book compiling all the texts, translations, addenda and corrections, along with extra references and photographs, will be a great enhancement to the series. Finally, while acknowledging the logistical difficulties of gathering texts in such a vast array of languages, I feel the series would benefit from even more attention to texts. As one of the emphases of the series is vocal music, selected not only for the sound but sometimes also for the literary import, it is disap-

pointing that there are occasionally no (or not yet) texts in the original language, or that more frequently there are no translations, into either Indonesian or English. Understanding of the divergences between areas and the variety of ways of structuring human thought, an important aim of the series, would be greatly enhanced by translations.

Although the series is aimed at a broad audience, the musical terminology and technical detail may prove prohibitive to some. However, the thoroughness of documentation, while occasionally leaving the musicologist in want of even more information, makes the series a highly valuable and accessible resource for teaching. Moreover, the devotion to contextualization evident here means that the series should prove useful to specialists in the region other than musicologists. The musical choices raise issues with relevance beyond music, like the distinction between the 'national' and the 'regional'; the impact of historical changes as a result of colonization and missionary activity; the intricacies of identity politics in a given region; and the politics of contemporary performance opportunities. By addressing the social functions of music, this series serves as a wonderful reminder of the importance of music for social science research. By assessing the particulars of musical structures around Indonesia, the series also demonstrates that music is a vital, and valid, way to approach the diversity of human thought. To substantiate this claim it is worth quoting at some length Yampolsky's comments in an article published shortly after the completion of the series.

That's what traditional music can do for us: suggest the possibility that life can be lived differently. Traditional music is inherently counterhegemonic for anyone outside the tradition: it shows that the order that we take for granted is not the only one there is. I believe this is crucially important information for people everywhere today. [...] We need to be reminded constantly of the grand history of human difference, or the diverse structures of existence. [...] Structuring the world, interpreting it, is a necessary human activity, and we all can learn from what the rest of us have done. (Yampolsky 2001:183, 185.)

## II

Below I briefly outline the content and importance of each volume, though in a review of this nature I can barely hope to do justice to each.

Volume I, *Songs before dawn: gandrung Banyuwangi*, presents a performance tradition from the east coast of Java; it is the only album to concentrate on a single genre. *Gandrung*, a singer-dancer tradition with parallels elsewhere in Java, Bali and Sumatra, has associations with purification and fertility rituals, yet is now performed primarily as entertainment. The complete sequence of songs played just before dawn constitutes this album. Performed by one of the most celebrated singer-dancers in the style, she is accompanied by a small

ensemble of two violins, two drums, triangle, kettle gongs, and gong. The reader is presented with a lively description of a typical event; sections where the singer-dancer invites men from the audience to dance with her for a small fee are alternated with songs directed toward her audience. *Seblang subuh*, the segment we hear, is presentational rather than participatory.

The following album, *Indonesian popular music: kroncong, dangdut, langgam Jawa*, raises issues of hybridity resulting from a mixture of the 'foreign' and the indigenous. It is the only volume in the series that deals exclusively with popular music, and the only one to incorporate some pre-released selections. *Kroncong* and *dangdut*, genres with very different histories yet both rooted in poor communities, are presented in their 'national' form. We hear *kroncong* pieces with contrasting formal structures and texts dealing with patriotism, nostalgia, or love. The *dangdut* examples present some of the stars of the genre singing songs dealing with social protest, circumstances of everyday life, or Islamic themes. These examples are contrasted with regional variations of both; *langgam Jawa* is a central Javanese variant of *kroncong*, whereas *dangdut* songs are played on regional ensembles like *tanjidor* and *gambang kromong* (both featured later in the series). The theoretical thrust of the album is the distinction between the 'national', or what is unifying for the country, and the 'regional', what is divisive. In musical terms the distinction is implemented through language of lyrics, instrumentation, and dissemination of the final product. While the examples of regional forms clearly illustrate the phenomena of interplay between the regional and the national, all of the regional examples come from Java. I wonder if the point would not be further enhanced by choosing regions more geographically and culturally distant.

Volume 3, *Music from the outskirts of Jakarta: gambang kromong*, deals with hybridity originating in the more distant past of life in the colonial capital. This album introduces 'a Jakarta that is virtually invisible' (p. 1), an area home to both Peranakan Chinese and Betawi, and demonstrates the existence of 'regional' music within the confines of the national capital. Selections come both from an older style, where the 'mixture of Chinese and Indonesian musical elements [...] bear[s] witness to the fruitful intermingling of these cultures in the colonial era' (p. 1), and from a newer one that is described as 'a jazz band playing Indonesian music, or a gamelan playing jazz' (p. 2). There are important continuities between the two, though Chinese influence is most strongly felt in the older style while the newer one fuses with more Sundanese traits. The listener is treated to both instrumental and vocal pieces from the endangered older style. Yampolsky suggests that this precariousness stems from politics; the hatred towards the Chinese-Indonesians since the 1960s leading to the suppression of identifiably Chinese cultural practices. From the newer style we hear a range of pieces, including some with a melodic focus and some with a harmonic one, and a selection in which a piece from the rep-

ertoire is played on a *tanjidor* ensemble.

*Music of Nias and North Sumatra: hoho, gendang Karo, gondang Toba*, Volume 4 in the series, makes a dramatic departure from its predecessors as the first album to go beyond Java. It focuses on the music of the Ono Niha, the Toba, and the Karo. *Hoho*, a dominant and male vocal genre from Nias engaging a soloist and two small choruses, is sung at funerals and feasts of merit. *Gondang Toba* and *gendang Karo* are two complex, yet somewhat related, instrumental traditions from the highlands of North Sumatra that show no outside influences. The Toba selections here include both the indoor ensemble featuring string instruments, and the louder outdoor ensemble featuring a set of tuned drums playing melody in synchronization with a shawm tuned to a different scale. The Karo have the same distinction in ensemble types, but only the outdoor one featuring miniscule drums playing virtuosic passages is presented here. In one of the two Karo examples the ensemble accompanies a popular song. A theoretical topic traced in this album is the impact of colonization and missionization, particularly on the system of indigenous spiritual beliefs and practices. While the church prohibition against music connected with spirit worship means most Toba pieces simply become divorced from prior associations, the older ritual repertoire has mostly been abandoned or suppressed; however, we hear an exception that is rather distinct in character from the other examples.

Volume 5, *Betawi and Sundanese music of the north coast of Java: topeng Betawi, tanjidor, ajeng*, considers the geographic region subsuming Jakarta, thus nicely complementing Volume 3. However, it 'considers a different nexus of musical interaction in Batavia' (p. 7) focusing on the links between Betawi and Sundanese musics. The selections involve three diverse, hybrid traditions specific to the region: *topeng Betawi*, a theater performed without masks or dance; *tanjidor*, a brass band with some indigenous instrumentation; and *ajeng*, a *gamelan* with the unusual incorporation of a shawm that accompanies a local form of *wayang kulit*. The music for *topeng Betawi*, other than the complete overture presented here, is incidental. More Sundanese in character than Betawi, it involves a small ensemble consisting of bowed lute, drums, non-melodic percussion, and a female vocalist singing in Sundanese. *Tanjidor*, an ensemble that has always borrowed repertoire from other genres (compare Volumes 2 and 3), plays both European repertoire (like waltzes and marches) and locally derived pieces. The conspicuous tempo changes, curious rippling figurations, and interlocking drumming of *ajeng*, along with terminological evidence and the history of Balinese migration to Batavia, tempt Yampolsky to make an analytical link with Balinese *gamelan*.

The following volume, *Night music of West Sumatra: saluang, rabab Pariaman, dendang Pauah*, leaves Java behind again to introduce the 'great richness and subtlety' (p. 5) of Minangkabau music from the heartland and outlying

regions. Each of these genres belongs to the realm of professional musicians; the settings are intimate with one or two vocalists accompanied by a solo instrument, repertoires are extensive, and the textual material is complex. *Saluang*, represented here by the ubiquitous bamboo flute of the heartland and a more locally specific one, employs free-standing verses (either improvised or taken from a memorized stock) in *pantun* form. These songs are linked with location through melodic material, thus functioning as 'symbols of identity and affiliation' (p. 11); requesting a song engages a whole range of possible social implications. The other two genres included here are primarily narrative (*kaba*); *rabab Pariaman* uses a bowed lute from the northwest coast, while *dendang Pauah*, from a region on the outskirts of Padang, is yet another flute tradition. It is unfortunate, however, that the more typical formulaic structure of *kaba* – a structure that surely affects the nature of the instrumental accompaniment – has been excluded from this album; the *rabab* examples include free-standing songs found prior to the narrative segment, while *dendang Pauah* uses *kaba* structured in *pantun*. Nonetheless, all the Minangkabau textual forms found here have an element of spontaneity, particularly from the inclusion of topical references.

*Music from the forests of Riau and Mentawai*, Volume 7, deals with music of three indigenous forest societies from Sumatra, two living in the interior of Riau and the other from the island of Siberut. Each of these groups has been designated as an 'isolated society' because of lifeways that radically diverge from those of the majority of Indonesia's population. They continue to be subject to government interference; strategies for 'national development', including logging, have exploited the peoples and threatened their homes. An important aim of this volume, then, 'is to demonstrate to outsiders (both foreign and Indonesian) and even, should it be needed, to the cultural inheritors themselves, the dignity, energy, and beauty of the traditional music of the forest societies' (p. 3). One of the featured contexts is music for private entertainment; examples include gong-row or xylophone solos and duets from Riau and solo vocals accompanied by flute from Siberut. The other focus is music for shamanic curing rituals which must negotiate the balance between human and natural, or spiritual, realms. Normally disdained, in an ironic turn, the rituals from this part of Siberut at least, along with other undesirable cultural practices, are actually permitted by the government because they encourage tourism. In Riau drums accompany the shaman's song as he journeys to the spirit world, while in Siberut we hear both songs from curing rituals and dance songs suitable for other ritualistic occasions, like purifying a clan house or inaugurating a new canoe.

Volumes 8 and 9, *Vocal and instrumental music from East and Central Flores* and *Vocal music from Central and West Flores*, move to eastern Indonesia and cover the amazing diversity and fragmentation of vocal practices from the

island of Flores. In a series designed to represent the whole of Indonesia it may seem odd to have two entire albums devoted to vocal music from just one small island, but this manoeuvre is justified through the claim that Flores is a 'textbook anthology of vocal music: singing in parallel intervals, harmony based on thirds [...], melody with drone, unison and multi-part choruses, and occasional instances of true counterpoint' (Vol. 8, p. 5). The selections include music from communities from the east through to the west of the island; male, female, and mixed choruses; a range of idioms; and two token instrumental tracks, a gong ensemble and a double flute that is one of many unusual flute types found on the island. A highlight of Volume 8 is the singing from the east that sounds strikingly similar to some Balkan vocal traditions, a fact that leads into a discussion of Jaap Kunst's diffusionist theories tying the two areas together. While specialists in Balkan music find the similarities hard to dismiss, the downfall in the theory is that it does not account for musical change in either location over thousands of years; further research on this fascinating topic is certainly warranted. Other highlights from this album include songs to accompany various stages of agricultural work (for example, separate songs for harvesting rice in the early morning and the late morning respectively); songs to accompany round and line dances (also found in Volume 9); songs from the Sikka region where the texts involve a process of negotiation between opposing sides, as in bride price deliberations with representatives from each side singing back and forth until consensus is achieved; and a hoeing song that includes a vocal imitation of a gong ensemble.

Volume 9, in contrast, presents antiphonal choirs for the first time, though the focus is on polyphonic styles of singing in increasingly complex arrangements: bass drone with a single melody line above; drone, melody, and harmony; songs with short, repeating phrases in both bass and treble parts that in combination lead to simple counterpoint; and a genre with male and female choruses simultaneously singing parts that are melodically, rhythmically, and textually distinct, leading to 'structured or composed counterpoint [that] [...] is highly unusual for Indonesia' (Vol. 9, p. 9). This last example, taking excerpts from a more complete performance, is clearly one of the highlights of the album. The textual content, but generally not the musical idiom, changes as the genre is used either to honour an important individual's passing or to relate the oral history of the Rongga people. Other songs on this album are used for harvest festivals; the construction of new clan houses or settlements; and a festival to ask for rain or protection against insect or animal plagues – a belief system, Yampolsky suspects, that must create tension with the overlaying Christian beliefs.

The following album, *Music of Biak, Irian Jaya: wor, church songs, yospan*, shifts to the easternmost boundary of Indonesia. The album, focusing on just one island, is the only tribute to the province now called Papua and has



been structured following the suggestions of anthropologist (and co-author) Danilyn Rutherford. Most of the album is devoted to *wor*, a genre with texts structured as riddles; an (ideally) chaotic, heterophonic delivery style; and a large repertoire organized into a system of song-types. Once performed at extravagant feasts, subjected to censure by missionaries, and associated with a Messianic movement, by the time of recording *wor* was almost obsolete. However, owing to interest generated by this series, *wor* has since experienced a revival, albeit with drastically altered aesthetics (Rutherford 1996). On the album the dominance of *wor* is partially offset by the inclusion of several church hymns, some of the little explicitly Christian music in the series. Performed by predominantly female choirs for church services and more casual affairs, the hymn texts are infused with myriad local references while the musical idiom illustrates missionary influence. The album wraps up with an example of a popular contemporary genre that is a deliberate fusion of two dance styles, including one from Biak, to symbolize the province. Both the more spontaneous, chaotic variant of *yospan* and the sanitized, highly-choreographed version encouraged by the government are accompanied by a string band playing local tunes with Western harmonies. These three genres were intentionally selected to 'suggest the [...] richness of Biak's artistic strategies for incorporating and domesticating the foreign, the surprising, and the new' and partially to provide an alternative picture to 'the stereotype of New Guinea as a land untouched by time' (p. 3).

We return to Sumatra with Volume 11, *Melayu music of Sumatra and the Riau Islands: zapin, mak yong, mendu, ronggèng*. In order to introduce the theme of the album, there is a succinct discussion of the term 'Melayu' with all its various ethnic, historical, racial, political, linguistic, and cultural implications. The mixture of Arabic, European, and local musical practices is evident – most clearly through instrumentation – in the examples chosen, including two entertainment dance genres that are virtually ubiquitous throughout the 'Melayu culture area'. *Zapin*, a dance style with its probable origins in Yemen and with definite Middle Eastern features in the music, is marked in its rural variant by the accompaniment of vocals using *pantun* texts, *gambus*, and frame drum, while its urban counterpart involves Arabic lyrics and an expanded ensemble. *Ronggèng*, the Melayu version of a singer-dancer tradition, is now found in 'a more formal and polite atmosphere, embodying a rather self-conscious idea of Melayu tradition' (p. 15). The slow and fast dance styles are accompanied by violin, gong, and drum, with the addition of accordion and other Western instruments in the urban versions. In addition, there are several excerpts from two more regionally limited, relatively informal, and virtually extinct theatre forms that draw on stock characters and plots. *Mak yong*, once celebrated in the Melayu courts of Thailand and Kelantan, involves an ensemble dominated by percussion with vocal melodies occasionally joined

by a bowed lute and shawm. *Mendu*, once performed at large weddings for forty nights in a row, is now performed upon annual request from the local government.

Volume 12, *Gongs and vocal music from Sumatra: talempong, didong, kulintang, salawat dulang*, is the last album devoted exclusively to Sumatra and covers two important musical practices found throughout the island. From the Minangkabau of West Sumatra there are two contrasting styles of *talempong*, an ensemble of small kettle gongs played either melodically as a gong-row or processional in a non-melodic idiom. Three of the four selections are performed by all-women groups – some of the rare instances in the series, and in Indonesia in general, of female instrumentalists. The melodic form of *talempong* is contrasted later in the album with *kulintang* performed at Melinting weddings in Lampung. The other focus of the album is male singing with percussive accompaniment. *Didong*, a Gayo form that has experienced much change over the last hundred years, is the domain of young men who sing in groups featuring a soloist backed by unison choral refrains. The only accompaniments permitted, in keeping with Muslim preferences, are the percussive sounds of hand-clapping and slapping small pillows. Once performed in teams representing the opposition between the bride's village and the groom's, the competition is now between polities or areas. Texts formerly focused on the rules of *adat*, but now reference events of the recent past or deal with Islamic topics. *Salawat dulang*, a distinctive and explicitly Muslim genre of the Minangkabau, is usually performed competitively with pairs of singers delivering exclusively religious texts and accompanying themselves on brass trays. The structure of a performance is invariable, ranging from free-meter, melismatic passages where the singer's phrases overlap to metered sections with lyrics set to melodies from popular songs – a fascinating feature, as Yampolsky points out, because the genre is a devoutly Muslim one. The excerpt here only excludes the segment where audience members or the opposing team pose riddles or questions that must be answered immediately – admittedly one of the highlights of the genre.

*Kalimantan strings*, Volume 13, shows the diversity of string music found amongst several societies residing in the Indonesian portions of Borneo. The notes outline the complex identity politics of the region, while the selections are designed to show the contrast between two major groups, the 'Dayaks' and the 'Melayu', fundamentally through their approaches to two varieties of lutes. Each of the four 'Dayak' groups, self-sufficient societies that have experienced economic and social changes resulting from logging and government development schemes, uses a plucked lute of a type found in several dispersed regions of Indonesia. While string instruments are central to secular contexts, other 'Dayak' musical practices like 'those tied to rituals and customs' have been 'abandoned after religious conversion or under the pressure

of government authorities' (p. 7). These selections illustrate that, although the instruments may be similar in construction, there is a considerable range of performance styles and musical structures. Many of the tracks are solely instrumental – sometimes with a solo lute, sometimes two, and sometimes in combination with other types of instruments – whereas others are vocal with accompaniment. In contrast, the 'Melayu' group from the east coast employs a *gambus*, the type of strummed lute found on Volume 11. Not only is the instrument the same but also the genre, although *zapin* is called *jepen* here.

Volume 14, *Lombok, Kalimantan, Banyumas: little-known forms of gamelan and wayang*, shows a commitment to demonstrating the vibrancy of familiar musical practices in less familiar locations. Tracing the growth of *gamelan* and *wayang* in Lombok, Kalimantan, and a geographically remote part of Central Java, the album hopes to show how disparate influences and historical events impact the development of the 'same ideas in different places' (p. 5). For the purposes of comparison, Yampolsky is concerned to make sure that the terms *gamelan* and *wayang* retain a certain firmness; he proposes a definition for *gamelan*, albeit one subsequently revised on the website, that is undoubtedly analytically functional, but one strangely detached from the communities that perform it as it excludes some practices considered, and even called, *gamelan*. *Wayang Sasak* is a form from Lombok that reflects some of that island's dominant past cultural influences: a small ensemble of long flutes, drums, and non-melodic percussion (an ensemble reminiscent of Balinese *gambuh*) is used to accompany Islamic stories in the Sasak language presented with Javanese-style puppets. *Jemblung*, from Banyumas in western Central Java, is a form of *wayang* that uses no puppets and no instruments, instead presenting vocal imitations of courtly forms in a kind of musical parody. *Gamelan Banjar*, from South Kalimantan, has shifted from the courts to the villages; it shares some features with its Javanese counterpart, but sounds worlds apart. Currently used for both *wayang* and *topeng*, performances have been shortened in recent times because amplification systems compete with early morning calls from the mosques.

*South Sulawesi strings*, Volume 15, is a wonderful complement to the volume on string music from Kalimantan; the same instruments, with the addition of violin and a keyed zither originating in Japan, are found amongst several groups within this one province. The layout is similar to that of Volume 13 with an introduction to the region and its major ethnic groups, along with an overview of musical practices. These examples range from the delivery of narratives by professional Bugis musicians to more informal occasions among the Toraja. The Bugis have a range of different ensembles incorporating strings; we hear several of these, including some violin duos, but not the more contemporary development of *simfoni kacapi*, a large ensemble of boat lutes playing Bugis tunes in a Western idiom. Among the Kajar both the *kacapi*

and the *gambus* are found, while the most common performers on the *Mandar kacapi* are women.

Volume 16, *Music from the southeast: Sumbawa, Sumba, Timor*, concentrates on a musical area that is 'one of the richest and most traditional – and least explored' (p. 5) and one that straddles the boundary between western and eastern Indonesia. The selections come from three islands in two provinces, supplementing the two albums on Flores (also one of the Lesser Sunda Islands). Themes already dealt with in the series are expanded here; for instance, string music with examples of a powerful violin and vocal genre from Sumbawa, plucked lutes from Sumba, and string bands from Timor; gong music for funerals in Sumba (although these ensembles are prominent in parts of central and eastern Indonesia, they were difficult to record given the context) and a non-melodic ensemble from Timor; and songs for Timorese community dances. One premise behind the album is the deconstruction of some generalizations about the music of Indonesia; firstly, the impression given by available recordings that vocal music is either monophonic (delivered in unison or heterophonically) or utilizes the 'thirds-based harmony of Christian hymnody and West popular music' (p. 9); and secondly that meters are typically regular and binary. As the selections on this album demonstrate, in combination with the pieces from Flores, there are exceptions: the Bunaq vocal example recorded at a communal work project incorporates meters in ten and nineteen and the Tetun song for a circle dance has 'one mild instance of polyphony' that contrasts with the more 'exuberant polyphonies of Flores' (p. 9). Yampolsky is clearly enthralled by the discovery of polyphony in Indonesia, a position which is made even more evident when he states that 'Flores [...] is a polyphonic paradise'.

*Kalimantan: Dayak ritual and festival music*, Volume 17, is designed to represent the musics (other than strings) of seven 'Dayak' peoples. As in the other volumes devoted to geographic areas, this strategy makes for a slightly more random array of musical material, though the choices resonate with other topics in the series. We hear gong-row ensembles, played for a range of festivals and rituals, that are distinguished from counterparts elsewhere in Indonesia by the 'unusually prominent role for the gongs that *support* the melody' (p. 7, original emphasis). Other examples continue the theme of group singing and polyphony. One of these songs involves the reformulation and creation of texts 'so as to permit harvest rituals and prayers to spirits to conform with Catholic theology' – the work of a priest 'seeking to minimize the amount of cultural loss that occurred because of conversion' (p. 17). Another important inclusion is the set of excerpts from a curing ritual performed by the Ot Danum. Although occasioned by a somewhat atypical request (ostensibly for the purposes of recording), the request was honoured and a serious ritual enacted because of the potentiality of rejuvenating the souls of all involved, including

those of the recording team. The examples include several diverse segments of the three-day ritual: songs sung by the lead shaman and her chorus of women during the journey of the souls; songs for amusement while taking a break; and songs, accompanied by vigorous drumming, leading to the possession of the shamans, along with requisite pig-squealing prior to sacrifice. Finally, the topic of asymmetrical meters is resumed, and addressed, through the incredibly distinct sounds of *senggayung*, a bamboo tube ensemble that plays for a ritual prompted by the simultaneous ripening of several fruits once every three of four years. These four examples have constantly shifting meters (a transcription of one will eventually be placed on the web), although other musics on the album incorporate more fixed, asymmetrical meters, including five, seven, and fourteen. While some of these topics are very technical, such details serve to illustrate the diversity of human thought.

Following the lead of Volume 17, Volume 18, *Sulawesi: festivals, funerals, and work*, complements the album on South Sulawesi strings by assembling other musical practices from the island. Covering the music of seven different peoples, the selections include choral singing from several areas with diverse textures. Torajan *simbong* features soloists accompanied by antiphonal female and male choruses singing a drone. *Raego'*, a communal round dance from Central Sulawesi subject to missionary aversion – Aragon (1996) provides a discussion of contemporary adaptations – incorporates a rare instance of counterpoint. While the elaborate Minahasan choral singing for rituals has died out, songs sung during agricultural and other cooperative work still survive, albeit in altered contexts like government-sponsored cultural events and contests. This genre is contrasted with *maengket*, which emerged in the 1950s as a self-conscious representation of Minahasan identity. Three types of instrumental music are also included on the album: a gong-row ensemble, once more widespread in the north, played for Mongondow weddings; *bas-ing*, flutes and vocals performed by the Kajar for mourning and funerals; and the Makasar *pakarena*, a genre once central to the courts that features vocal segments accompanied by shawm and periods of intense, interlocking drumming that incongruously accompany serene dancing.

Volume 19, *Music of Maluku: Halmahera, Buru, Kei*, is yet another album devoted to a limited geographic area; it incorporates a heterogeneous assortment of music from islands in the three main regions of the province better known as the 'Spice Islands'. It is evident through the prominence of external influences that musical practices here have been shaped by the history of the spice trade, or at least, by the range of peoples passing through. Several segments from *dabus*, a Sufist-derived ritual demonstrating acts of invulnerability, are included here. The unison vocals accompanied by frame drums are analogous to practices in Muslim communities throughout Indonesia, representing a style deliberately avoided in the series up to this point because 'rather than

record it in one of the obvious places – Aceh, West Sumatra, Java – we wanted to wait until we reached the eastern provinces, which are less well known as bastions of Islam’ (pp. 9-10). *Togal*, performed by peoples forcibly removed by the government from Makian island off the coast of Halmahera, is a hybrid form with questionable origins. The ensemble, featuring violin and including a plucked lute, drums, and flute, accompanies dances arranged in columns and directed by a caller, a highly unusual practice for Indonesia. The research team searched hard to uncover more ‘traditional’ musics for this album: the collection contains a range of songs from Kei, including a rowing song that is the only example of children’s music in the series, and several secular forms (vocal music, jew’s harp, and a gong ensemble) from Buru, obtained in the interior only through the (regrettable) assistance of a logging company. The situation is clearly paradoxical as ‘the same company is engaged in wiping out the way of life from which the music we recorded springs’ (p. 17).

The final volume of the series, *Indonesian guitars*, ‘in a sense encapsulates the entire *Music of Indonesia* project’ (p. 31); the focus is on a single instrument found ‘everywhere’ and the examples have been recorded over the entirety of the project. The album traces the way the guitar has developed, been indigenized, integrated into local musical idioms, and played in hybrid forms in several diverse locations. The guitar in Indonesia has three primary functions: as the sole or principal accompaniment for singing with fixed or independent verses (as in the Melayu, Abung, and Mandar examples); as part of an ensemble playing lead melody or a supporting role (represented by Hawaiian guitar in a *kroncong* ensemble and *bidu* from Timor); and as an imitation of other instruments. Two selections particularly stand out in reference to the whole series. Firstly, there is a humorous Bugis version of a Rhoma Irama *dangdut* song. The instrument is not an electric guitar at all, but a two-string *kacapi* emulating one. The joke derives partly from ‘the incongruity [of] glamorous television and recording stars from the big cities summoned to a bamboo platform at a village crossroads’ but also from the fact that ‘the national, which so often mocks the local as backward and foolish, is here cut down to local size’ (p. 18). The other special example is the final one, a piece by a group from Sumatra that diverges drastically from the series’ focus on ‘traditional’ music with a turn towards innovative developments. The composition, incorporating almost exclusively foreign sounds – for instance, tonal harmony and *qawwali* vocals from India – has been carefully selected because it underlines the difficulties inherent in defining and constituting ‘Indonesian music’. There are two basic solutions to this problem that has existed since the rise of Indonesian nationalism. The first approach, the one taken by the series in general, is to assume that ‘Indonesian music’ is the aggregate of all musics made by people living in Indonesia – a proposition problematized by past and current tensions between disparate peoples of the country. The alterna-

tive is to claim that 'Indonesian music' is 'whatever is created by persons who see themselves primarily as Indonesians rather than members of an ethnic or regional subgroup' (p. 26). As this piece adequately illustrates, the musical references used in this approach are typically those unaffiliated with any particular cultural or religious group within Indonesia. Such specificity would hinder the representation of the broader cultural identity of 'Indonesian'.

In addition to the twenty volumes discussed above, a compilation album entitled *Discover Indonesia* was released. This album is clearly designed for promotional purposes, with summaries of each volume in the series and fifteen examples carefully selected to represent the musical diversity of Indonesia. Interestingly, this is also the only album that includes photographs of the work process and people behind the series.

### III

In conclusion, the *Music of Indonesia* series was an ambitious, arduous, and enormous project to undertake, yet it has been accomplished with very impressive results. It was coordinated by one man, Philip Yampolsky, but made possible through the efforts of hundreds of others. The series has already been incredibly influential in stimulating the discussion of Indonesia's musical diversity; with a wealth of topics deserving further research available to scholars, it promises to have a continuing impact on the musical scholarship of the region. Anyone who listens to this series will be amazed by the vitality and incredible range and intricacy of musical practices coexisting within one country. It is truly a monument to the 'human ability to invent structures for sound' (Volume 8, p. 5).

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## REVIEW ESSAY

ROBERT WESSING

**The power of the dead in Southeast Asia**

Henri Chambert-Loir and Anthony Reid (eds), *The potent dead; Ancestors, saints and heroes in contemporary Indonesia*. Crows Nest, New South Wales: Allan and Unwin, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002, xxvi + 243 pp. [Southeast Asia Publications Series.] ISBN 1.86508.739.4 (paperback).

Nicola Tannenbaum and Cornelia Ann Kammerer (eds), *Founders' cults in Southeast Asia; Ancestors, polity, and identity*. New Haven CT: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 2003, xi + 373 pp. [Yale Southeast Asia Studies Monograph 52.] ISBN 0.938692.79.8 (paperback).

'Only a dead past frees the present to decide its fate', observes Richard O'Connor in *Founders' cults in Southeast Asia* (p. 251). 'But what', he asks, 'if the past is not dead?' This is the theme that runs through these two books: the continuing roles of ancestors especially, but also of other important deceased in Indonesia, and their descendants' position as founders of various kinds of social units in Indonesia and wider Southeast Asia. Indeed, as the editors of *The potent dead* point out (p. xxvi), the spirits discussed here are 'part of the conceptual framework' of Indonesia – and, as we shall see, Southeast Asia generally – whose agency is part of everyday life. Having said that, it should not be assumed that this common framework works out identically throughout the area. Indeed, it is influenced by and used for a variety of social and political contexts.

Being an ancestor, *The potent dead* informs us, is a social role that depends on the personal characteristics of the deceased when alive – or things attributed to him or her after death. Ancestors associate with other spirit entities, though they usually do not merge with them. Each has its own power and roles, which in the case of the ancestors is providing protection and blessing for, as well as being moral guardians of, the community.

Other 'potent dead' are heroes and saints. The former are figures that the state promotes as a kind of symbolic national progenitor. They figure in national rituals and are not approached with personal concerns. Saints



in theory are a restricted category, although in Indonesia they include many persons reputed to have furthered the spread of Islam – that is, founders of a new moral order. They differ from ancestors in that the latter can be contacted with personal problems, while saints are approached about matters of spiritual perfection and social issues. Although the world religions to which most Indonesians at least nominally adhere disapprove of this veneration, in practice the 'potent dead' are seen as intermediaries through whom God can be approached with requests.

Bernard Sellato opens the discussion by questioning the universality of ancestor veneration, noting that among the Aoheng of Borneo the dead do not involve themselves with the living unless called upon. As in life, the status of the dead is fixed and there is no ritual elevation into ancestor-hood. Yet, the Aoheng dead do have a degree of agency: they are authority figures that punish transgressors. The ancient dead are also called upon to give blessings and receive offerings. Their role, as Sellato sees it, is social rather than religious. Given these involvements in the lives of the living, I wonder whether the Aoheng really do not recognize ancestors, or whether they just do not use them very much?

Anne Schiller, discussing the Ngaju Dayak *tiwah*, notes that people are uncertain about the correct form of this ritual because a second style has developed due to government interference, especially the integration of local rites into the 'Hindu' Kahariangan religion, and due to the promotion of the *tiwah* as a tourist attraction. The problem is that the fate of the deceased depends on the proper performance of the *tiwah*, while at the same time due to this interference the ritual has acquired potency as a political path to power over local affairs. This is problematical because the ancestors reward proper behaviour with blessings and good fortune, but punish them with misfortune, for instance for performing the ritual the wrong way. In spite of the changes the ritual has generally remained intact even though some of the power alignments have changed.

In Laboya (West Sumba), Danielle Geirnaert writes, becoming an ancestor is a serious concern leading some to build their own tomb in front of their house while alive. Wealth, prestige, nobility and having died long ago are necessary to become an ancestor. Not everyone achieves this and some may take longer than others: founders of communities are certain to do so but for others it depends on their descendants' performing the necessary rituals. The quality of the deceased's life determines the amount of their 'name' (*dewa*) that joins the pool of ancestral *dewa*, which protects the descendants. The person's breath and bodily fluids become the rain that benefits the community. It goes to the land of the ancestors together with the *dewa*: they must be together to become an ancestor. The pool of protective *dewa* ensures the continuity of life and the person's house (*uma*). Happy ancestors bring blessings in the form of

rains that lead to good harvests while dissatisfied ones bring death.

In Nusa Penida (Bali) death and the ancestors are linked with reciprocity and a concern with fertility. Rodolfo Giambelli shows that the mythological theme of the death of a young woman as the origin of cultivated plants is found again in beliefs about death. The deceased's body, buried in the garden prior to cremation, feeds the earth, which reciprocates with harvests to feed the people. After the body has decayed, the bones are cremated and the deceased is on the way to becoming an ancestor who is linked to the identity, origin and continuity of the community through the fertility that its flesh was the source of. Thus there is a dual link with the community: the flesh/fertility that feeds the people and the bones that become ancestors who represent the community and its founders, localized in the founding temple where they connect the natural and social orders.

In Tana Toraja, Elisabeth Coville writes, the dead are ambiguous. Generally avoided, they are occasionally invited to participate in people's affairs. Differences in rank are maintained after death. The highborn become deities, involved with life and agriculture, while commoners are associated with death and head hunting. This correlates with two types of ritual: one that celebrates life, fertility and prosperity, and one that is concerned with funerals and secondary burials. Here the Toraja differ from the Balinese in the previous chapter, for whom death ultimately was the source of life. The power of the ancestors lies in the prosperity they can bring: they are fed by the living and reciprocate with fertility. Prosperity is a sign of morally correct behaviour while when angry the dead bring illness and distress. The dead like presents and attention and see the sacrifices made to them as reciprocity for the gift of life. Handling and wrapping the dead during secondary burial rites are signs of their permanence and their ability to influence the lives of the living. When they become indistinguishable from the bones of others they become anonymous: only renowned persons are remembered and become ancestors.

Anthony Reid next notes the resurgence in Toba Batak dealings with ancestral spirits, especially the founders of clans, for whom elaborate tombs are built. The construction of these tombs (*tugu*) was made possible by the wealth sent home by migrant Batak who wanted to safeguard Batak values that are thought to radiate from the monuments. The raising of a tomb is surrounded by Toba custom, including the traditional house that embodies and localizes the clan whose ancestor is being celebrated. In view of the Toba's adherence to Christianity, the ritual is necessarily a compromise between the church (which at first condemned the practice), the power inherent in the ancestor, and family pride in the accomplishments of the current generation. Reid asks whether this return to a Batak past reflects a de-Christianization and secularization or whether it is only a modern middle class expression of Batak-ness. Rather than secularization, the important place given to the ancestors seems to reflect

the Batak-ization of their Christianity. The ancestors' continued influence is reflected in their demand for veneration in return for their blessings and the community's welfare. These rituals strengthen inter- and intra-lineage relations, while neglect of the ancestors is believed to lead to a weakening of lineage power.

The Gumai of South Sumatra described by Minako Sakai focus on social origins, linked conceptually to places and ancestor/founders. To forget one's origins is to incur the wrath of the ancestors, while pleasing them brings blessings. As the children grow up, all but one (male or female) moves out of the parental house. The one that stays inherits the house and is the *petunggu dusun*, the one that guards the house, the place of origin that the others must return to. A village consists of bilateral descendants of the founder only. The village and its graveyard together accommodate both the living and the dead descendants of the founder. The Gumai recognize two kinds of origins, the village and especially the founding house, and descent from the founding ancestor, who in turn is descended from the apical ancestor, Diwe Gumai. A male village ritual specialist is the *jurai kebalian*, a patrilineal heir whose line is traced back to the Diwe Gumai. This person must live in the *jurai kebalian* house where he is the primary link to the ancestors. In him and his house the two origins intersect. In his house feasts are held to which the ancestors are invited, which maintains their benevolence. Under religious pressure, the Gumai have accommodated Islamic sensibilities by having the *jurai kebalian* contact the ancestors in the privacy of his room and celebrating the communal part in the Islamic way. However, the basic orientation toward ancestors and origins continues.

Among the hierarchical Bugis, relations with the ancestors differ according to whether one is a noble or a commoner. Nobles, Christian Pelras writes, are descendants of the gods, making genealogy more important to them than to the commoners, the autochthonous children of the soil with whom the nobility made a contract to rule. The commoners make offerings to their forebears, a general category that merges with other spirit entities from whom the Bugis expect blessings and protection. This world lies between a celestial one and an abyss, both filled with pre-Islamic entities the Muslims call Jinn. There are two categories of the dead: ancestors and protecting founders. Graves of forebears are visited during Islamic feast days and graves of the 'potent dead' such as founders are visited for favours or to make sacrifices. Orthodox Muslims frown on such behaviour, but the Bugis seem to operate on two sets of religious understanding, whose difference is never made explicit. Graves are points of access to the invisible world inhabited by the dead and other spirits. Other such points are special boulders or trees, sometimes disguised as graves to make them more acceptable to the Muslims. The high nobility return to the abode of the gods upon death. Both the commoners and the nobility venerate

the ancestors, in return receiving protection, fertility and personal solace.

Next Henri Chambert-Loir examines the cult of Muslim saints in Java. Saints are persons with special powers that are now accessible through their graves. In this they are similar to the founders and ancestors discussed so far. The name of the saint may be unknown and his 'grave' is sometimes empty, marking a 'powerful' place in an acceptable Muslim way. Such places are *kramat* (sacred) and can be either real graves or places where guardian spirits or founders were once venerated (*pundhen*). As among the Bugis, founders and tutelary spirits often merge and the boundary between *pundhen* and *kramat* is rather obscure, being more of a continuum. To contact the saint for favours, enlightenment or to meditate, one must attend the grave, bringing offerings. Nowadays bus tours take pilgrims to a number of such sites, especially during Islamic holidays or at special times when thousands may visit. All this is true of the graves of Javanese founders as well, though on a smaller scale. Founders' graves are important when local ancestors are remembered. These days this is often done at the village hall rather than at a gravesite or *pundhen* – though offerings may be left there as well. Pilgrimages go back to ancient Java when founders confronted local spirits for rights to the land. The saints, in absorbing features of founders, are a bridge between Islamic and old Javanese ideas, though in the process they have become ancestor-like.

Claude Guillot's study of the Tembayat Hill fits into the pattern sketched by the previous article. It discusses Sunan Pandang Arang, previously known as Brawijaya, the last ruler of the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit who, having been defeated by Muslim forces, fled to Semarang where he became wealthy and found God. After his conversion he joined a religious community at Tembayat Hill, a place associated with the name Kajoran. Guillot's discussion then shifts to parallels between this place and the Baduy of Banten, wondering whether Tembayat Hill could be an Islamic *mandala* community, akin to the Hindu ones that once flourish in West Java.

The key to success at sacred graves, James Fox writes, is the *juru kunci* or guardian, who is usually related to the deceased or a descendant of his servant: a past close relationship is continued. In keeping with the idea of founders and ancestors discussed thus far, graves in Java are references to the past, embodying past authority and thus a source of power, in which the *juru kunci* is the link between the sacred place and the visitor. Tombs are visited at times of personal crisis when the pilgrim wants to establish a relationship with a personage from the past. This must be done properly and the *juru kunci* is the key to a proper visit. As Fox observes, in Java the *juru kunci* interprets the past for the living. Tales told at the tomb often mix the past with present events, rewriting oral traditions, a process in which the *juru kunci* is the most authoritative voice. Official histories often have gaps in their information, which are then filled by the *juru kunci*. These stories are highly personal and

their interpretation is a function of the interaction between the visitor and the guardian, the *juru kunci* tailoring his tale to the needs and capacities of the petitioner. This process, which makes the history relevant to the modern visitor, also keeps the tradition alive.

That tombs are a source of authority is clear from the visits that new functionaries make to the graves of their predecessors. In the introduction the editors mention that former president Abdurrahman Wahid prayed at the tomb of a Muslim spiritual leader, gaining confidence and resolve. Similarly, Djoko Sudantoko, the *bupati* of Banyumas discussed by George Quinn, used the grave of the founder of Banyumas to legitimise his own position. After taking office he ordered the day that Banyumas was founded to be established. This was a powerful event as is clear from the foregoing articles. When the date was arrived at, the grave of the founder was refurbished and made into a pilgrimage site for descendants of previous *bupati*. 'Foundation day' is celebrated annually with a procession combining portraits of previous *bupati* with the presence of the current one who thus symbolically making himself a titular descendant in a lineage of power holders going back to the founder. Although local histories have lately been overshadowed by national discourses, they live on in local traditions, as Fox made clear earlier. Djoko Sudantoko used such a local tradition to strengthen his authority by symbolically linking himself with Banyumas' past.

The national heroes discussed by Klaus Schreiner are a somewhat different kind of 'potent dead'. While those discussed thus far are a source of blessing and fertility for the community as well as being maintainers of the local moral order, these symbolic 'national forebears' symbolize solidarity, identity and national unity. They are remembered collectively in a national context rather than individually in a local one – though local heroes may be promoted to the national context, even re-buried in national cemeteries. It may be questioned whether these national heroes really are like the figures described by the other articles in *The potent dead*. The ceremonies in which they figure do not address their innate potency, but only the symbolic power they gained through the national context. Furthermore, unlike ancestors and founders, no power of agency is attributed to them and I am unaware of offerings or requests being made to them, and the fate of the nation is not thought to depend on their feelings. Thus the idea of ancestor worship in regard to them seems inappropriate, since this is an action performed by descendants in a specific context. One exception is the grave of 'founder' Sukarno, in Blitar where pilgrims offer flowers and take home 'power-laden' flowers. This may be why his grave was de-emphasized by the Suharto regime, which promoted hero statues elsewhere: his memory threatened its legitimacy, something the statues could not do. Still, the parallels Schreiner points out deserve further exploration. An interesting example is the statue of Phaya Sihanatraja discussed in the next

book which, judging from the photograph on page 212, does receive offerings.

If *The potent dead* emphasized the role of ancestors in promoting fertility, and through it community welfare as well as the maintenance of custom and morals, *Founders' cults in Southeast Asia* focuses more on the political aspects of the influence of the dead. Here again great variety is found, as is to be expected in ritual ideas expressed in widely varied contexts over centuries: such varied application is only possible when the ritual is innately very flexible. The central article in this book is F.K. Lehman's on 'The relevance of founders' cults for understanding the political systems of the peoples of northern Southeast Asia and its Chinese borderlands', which the other twelve articles discuss on the basis of local data and are in part reflections on. The central spirit here is that of a founder, a person who established a social unit at some level, usually in cooperation with a (co-opted) nature spirit.

Founders' cults, the editors note, are about relationships, in the first place between the spirit owners of the land and the founders of communities and their descendants. While they vary throughout the region, founders' cults generally reflect a belief in spirit owners that control fertility. In return for offerings and respect, the spirits bring good harvests, well-being, and political success (p. 3). While this is true in village agricultural contexts, leading Richard O'Connor to call such cults agricultural cults and differentiate them from the ones that sustain the state, I wonder whether it would not be productive to think in terms of the spirits' control of the generative principle from which the fertility of the land and humans flow as well as the general welfare of the community, both local and national. Spirits are asked to bless all kinds of endeavours, not just agriculture.

It is not always clear which spirit is pleased: that of the founder/ancestor or the nature spirit. One would expect the nature spirit to be responsible for harvests and the welfare these bring, while ancestors/founders look after the moral conduct of their (putative) descendants. Lehman writes that 'it is a common error to suppose that the founders' cult merges with a sort of cult to the ancestors' (p. 33, note 4). But in many cases they indeed do, which touches upon one of the minor problems I had with this volume, namely that was not always clear in the local studies to what degree these communities, at least in the past, primarily consisted of descendants and affines of the founder: where the founder is also the ancestor, the two roles collapse. Indeed, it may be profitable to see (apical) ancestors as founders of lines of descent, which would eliminate one problem.

Lehman sees the cult as governing all political structures in mainland Southeast Asia as well as the lowland *dhammarajika* kingship of Burma. The cult was important in the relationship between traditional lowland kingdoms and upland tribal groups. Representatives of the latter needed to be involved

in the succession of authority in the lowlands because their leaders were seen as successors to the founders who had opened the land, prior to the rise of the lowland states. These founders had to be apprized of successions because of their prior relations with the nature spirits. The lowland kingdoms tried to co-opt this precedence and symbolically incorporate the tribal leaders by assigning them court titles, since the lowland rulers had neither the manpower nor the revenue to effectively control them in practice. Thus, the tribal peoples became ritual officials of the lowland courts in service to the spirit lords of the land, allowing the lowland rulers to reign. The cult, Lehman notes, also fixes people to the land and thus gives the ruler access to manpower. This can only be so in case of shortages of land, however; swidden farmers in particular can uproot rather easily.

The first of Cornelia Kammerer's two chapters looks at the founders' cult among the Akha (northern Thailand) in the context of both spirits of the ancestors and spirits inherited from them, the last including the spirit-owners of the land. These merge in the relationships that the ancestors established with the spirits as well as in the notion that humans and spirits had the same mother. Each year the leader of the village leads a ritual renewal of the village gates, the structures that define the community and form the boundary between the people and the spirit world. Individual householders, preferably ritually qualified women, make offerings to their ancestors. Spirits are divided into those that are part of the village and those that belong outside it. The former are usually ancestral, either dead forebears or spirits inherited from them. The non-ancestral, outside spirits are the owners of the land, both house sites and fields, and figure in the annual agricultural cycle. Aside from the repair of the gates, the village leader makes offerings at the edge of the village to the Lords of the Land and the Water, from whom good harvests and fertile livestock are expected. The relationship with these Lords is hierarchical (as opposed to the egalitarian relationships in the village): they are treated as lords, similar to the court (pp. 62, 64). The focus, Kammerer concludes, is on potency in the form of fertile people, land, crops and animals. The cults are performed to obtain this and at the same time presuppose the existence of these forces that bless.

Kammerer's second paper is about 'Thigh-Eating Chiefs' among the egalitarian Akha, a curiosity because this kind of chief usually occurs among more hierarchical people. Like the hierarchical Kachin, the egalitarian Akha chief has the right to a leg of any big game hunted in his territory. Kammerer speculates why this should be so, noting that the chief should not try to stand above his fellow villagers. Unlike the Kachin chief, however, he receives a foreleg rather than a hind one, which to my mind in itself answers her question. While the tribute of a leg marks his position as chief, the scant amount of meat generally found on a foreleg reflects the egalitarian ethos: he doesn't get that much more! The thigh-eating chief is associated with fertility and makes

annual offerings at a sacred grove just outside the village. This is the village's founders' cult, called 'offerings to the Lords of Land and Water'. If among the Kachin having such a grove is a matter of politics (only a thigh-eating chief can have one and not all Kachin villages have such a person), among the egalitarian Akha every village has one and indeed the village cannot exist without it. Akha gender relations are balanced: the generative power of humans and spirits lies in males and females together. Household, ancestor-oriented offerings are preferably made by ritually qualified women, while outside, nature spirits are the responsibility of the village leader. Since there are many households, the potential number of such women balances the overall authority of the chief. These women incorporate the fertility of humans, domestic animals and crops while the chief deals with the fertility of the forest, defining the domains of men and women and balancing the inside and outside concerns of the community. Commenting on Lehman's idea that the cult fixes people to the land, she notes that in the Akha case it promotes mobility. Indeed, unless the cult is in the hands of the ruler, people can always go somewhere else and do the ritual over again.

Elizabeth Coville's article on 'Mothers of the Land' in Toraja at first struck me as somewhat anomalous, since she discusses the role of a ritual specialist without a civic leadership function, who seems solely concerned with agricultural tasks. Often, after all, responsibility for fertility and civic leadership are combined in the leader of the community. However, there are other examples of such a separation. They include the *wali puhun* in West Java, whose function is still combined with that of civic leadership in the *pu'un* of the Urang Kanekes (Baduy), but may have been separated from it elsewhere in West Java as a consequence of religious and administrative change – a point made by Coville about the Toraja as well (p. 107). The role of the Toraja 'Mother of the Land', then, is the preservation of the fertility of the land. She mediates between the human community and the spirits of the land, which is usually the function of the founder or his descendant. The spirits, and perhaps also the people, are reminded of their mutual contract by the words this ritual specialist utters while sowing the seeds. Coville sees this person as a 'rice priest', which is slightly problematical since the agreement was with the owners of the soil and not with the spirit of rice – though the relationship with rice is reciprocal as well, of course. While it is true that all the Mother of the Land's actions influence the growing of rice, it is likely that this is an effect of her relationship with the spirit owners rather than a direct effect on the rice. Coville also gives some interesting detail about 'taxes' claimed by spirits, mice and princes, suggesting that their similarity lies in their power and potential for harm which, given the relationships of mice and princes to the land, is an interesting parallel.

Lorraine Arragon looks at how the ideas of the founders' cult are used in



Central Sulawesi in the context of changes in political situations, in religion and in residence. There are various kinds of spirits, including those that own or control land, rivers, rice and gold, and ancestor spirits that watch over their bilateral descendants. Typically, a contract exists between the spirit owners and the spirit(s) of those who wanted to clear the land and laid down the community's rules for behaviour – the founders, who can be either male or female. Prosperity is a sign of favour, and the descendants of a successful (that is, prospering) founder continue to lead their community. In the past these communities were mobile kin-based groupings rather than the complex villages that have arisen due to colonial and republican administrative reforms. Annual rituals dealing with the land contain requests that the people and their rice may prosper until the next harvest, now in the form of a thanksgiving to God and in the past accompanied by animal sacrifices. Missionaries inserted God into the equation as controller of the land, placing him above the powerful spirits, and placing Christian ministers in a position as 'founders' of the new moral order (pp. 126-7). In spite of Christianity, the old precedence of the founder's line continues to be recognized in alliance with the church leader. Administrative reforms have led to a change in the nature of the 'descendants', who now include linear as well as titular descendants, reminiscent of the *bupati* of Banyumas described earlier. In the past, the political power inherent in the position of founder led to alliances with lowland leaders, creating new political formations. Now government programs have drastically altered the kinds of territories the founders and their descendants can claim. People migrate into others' territories and sometimes die there, leading to new ways to claim 'territories of spiritual precedence', such as by proclaiming a burial plot in a Muslim area to be 'Christian territory' and making the deceased into a founder.

Among the Karen of Thailand, according to Yoko Hayami, the founders' cult is declining. The Karen ideas of power and fertility are based in the village founder, although there are other sources such as the village periphery and the forest and the lowlands beyond. In the lowlands, potency adheres to withdrawal from the world, which includes the periphery where the Karen live. Hayami notes a disjunction between the power associated with fertility and founders, and that of the forests. Human life is based in the forest, which is what the community is ultimately made from. Yet because it conceives itself as a domain of culture, the community also distances itself from the forest. Interestingly, the pact with the spirits seems to be limited to the life of the founder. Upon his death the community must move, even if only a short distance. This creates a 'new' village with a new compact (p. 140). The role of the headman is primarily a ritual one; his other duties are variable and depend on his personality. Even when he has no political power, he is central to the ritual and social order. Since founders' cults are a claim to territory, they become a problem in the state, which claims to have the ultimate rights to the territory

within its boundaries. If in the past the state's territorial claim was practically unrealizable for logistic reasons, the modern state now has the means to do so, fundamentally changing the relationship between the lowlands and the highlands. The state cannot press for the discontinuation of the cult, but the introduction of Buddhism, with its claims to moral superiority, is one instrument with which to Thai-ize the hill people. The state also makes its claims felt through military and administrative actions, calling the Karen encroachers on state land. As a result of this and conversion to other religions, the idea of a hereditary founders' line is dying out in many communities. Rituals are neglected and there is talk of a slackening of morals. The administrative leader seems to be on the rise, and he does not report to the spirits. With Karen autonomy under threat, the power to maintain the community has to be derived elsewhere from elsewhere.

Minako Sakai's chapter on the Gumai covers some of the same territory as her contribution to *The potent dead*. She notes the Gumai's emphasis on origins, and the role of the *jurai keballi'an* who traces his descent from the apical ancestor, Diwe Gumai, and invokes the ancestors during village rituals. The nature spirit with whom the founder made a contract seems to have been displaced due to the influence of Islam, which has lead them to consider the village ritual as an Islamic one that only surreptitiously involves the ancestors.

Thai-Lao villages have two kinds of guardians: older villages have an ancestor guardian while newly established ones have a territorial spirit. Yet from the way Yukio Hayashi describes things (p. 189), it looks as though originally a spirit owner of the land was transformed into a guardian. In older villages, this guardian (*phi puta*, literally 'spirit of maternal and paternal grandfathers') has a shrine at the edge of the village in the spirit forest – a place elsewhere appropriate to nature spirits. This place represents the bounded village, which would seem to make these spirits ancestral ones. It may well be, as P. Mus describes in *India seen from the East* (Monash Papers on Southeast Asia 3, 1975), that in time the spirit of the founder merged with the nature spirit. In newly founded villages this would not yet have occurred, leaving it clear that the guardian is the nature spirit. The spirit cult seems to be declining as villages have expelled their guardians and now rely on Buddhism – or, alternatively, the spirits have converted to the faith (pp. 185, 202), something that could also have happened to the Gumai's spirits. These ideas about spirits are seen as a regional tradition that contrasts with that of the state with which they are seen to compete. Government claims to control over land, as evidenced by the issue of land ownership certificates, compete with the claims made by the spirit cult.

Nicola Tannenbaum explores the creation in 1990 of a monument to Phaya Sihanatraja, the 'founder' of Maehongson. Yet curiously, this person is not a founder in the sense discussed thus far. Maehongson already existed when

he, a refugee, came to rule it under the auspices of the state at Chiang Mai. The sponsor of the statue, a senior monk, thought it would be good to honour the person who established the country and made it prosper, yet Phaya Sihanatraja can only be considered a founder in the context of the state: he brought the state to Maehongson and with it a new order. This monk's vision, furthermore, is provincial rather than ethnic so that he too operates under the model of the state. From a political point of view, Phaya Sihanatraja was a good candidate for 'founder' as his career depended on the state that encompasses the province he represents. He does not mark a relationship between the rulers and territorial spirits, but does similarly extend the power of the centre to the periphery. In the process, Tannenbaum observes, the role of the nation-state is taken for granted. Yet why offerings should be made to him is unclear, unless it is a matter of 'it cannot hurt', which would be less acceptable in the Muslim context of Indonesia.

Hjörleifur Jónsson examines the relationship between the members of a migratory highland group and the king's spirit with whom they entered into a relationship in a time of danger during their migration. Logically this makes sense, since as a migrating group they were not settled and thus could not enter into a relationship with a local protective spirit. Instead they chose one that covered a more extensive territory. Though they are now settled, the grandson of the individual who led the migration still maintains a relationship with this spirit. As a relationship with a spirit-of-state (the state, like the village, often needs a spirit to justify its existence), this placed the migrating group under the protection of the ruler. While the highlands may categorically have been beyond the state (p. 228), this does not mean that the state had no interest in them – only, as Lehman points out, that it lacked the means to translate this interest directly into political power. Rescue by the spirit-of-state made the leader 'favorably disposed to entering into relationships with lowland kings' (p. 234), something the latter would not have ignored. As Jónsson points out, migration creates tension and realigns local relationships. People indeed must eventually settle, and this often upsets local arrangements, in which case a relationship with the court may well come in handy. As a founders' cult the relationship is somewhat different from the cases discussed elsewhere in the volume, since the spirit in question was not a territorial spirit in the usual sense. Yet it seems not to be entirely exceptional, because elsewhere Jónsson writes that Mien villages invite the spirits of powerful rulers to 'become spirit owners of the site'. As Jónsson points out, 'the rituals [...] construct the prominence of lowland officials as powerful outsiders in the same category as spirits' (pp. 236-7). As national integration has progressed, the cult has lost its prominence and different symbols now link people and community. Where the leader once was a link to the king's spirit, he is now becoming a founder and a link to the Thai state.

In the first of his two chapters, Richard O'Connor argues that a dualism marked traditional Lao polities. The local people were linked to the earth while rulers, coming from elsewhere, were associated with the sky. The autochthonous peoples therefore, were associated with the spirit guardians and fertility while the central throne was concerned with neither fertility nor the indigenous peoples. Traditional social organization could be characterized as a set of embedded boxes in which each unit replicated the organizational structure of the whole. But such mutual incorporation, while adaptive in an agricultural society, was less useful in building an empire. Indianization brought a solution in creating legitimacy based on difference, setting the court apart as something wholly other than the rural hinterland. While nature was still necessary, it was no longer considered an active principle. This raises questions concerning the relationship of the ruler with a nature spirit, which has been shown to be an important factor in the creation and maintenance of states throughout the area, including parts of India. While this relationship often becomes hidden in the context of major religions, it nevertheless remains a persistent factor. In any case, such a relationship need not have been a public one: a ruler might simultaneously display symbols of the major religion in public, and privately maintain a relationship with a spirit, as is done on a smaller scale by the Gumai discussed by Sakai.

In the final chapter O'Connor reviews the papers as a whole, placing them in their historical and ethnographic context and arguing, in opposition to some recent arguments to the contrary, that Southeast Asia constitutes a cultural region with the founders' cult as one of its defining features. This type of cult is indeed found in various guises and uses throughout the area, showing its adaptability as a cultural grammar. One problem I had with O'Connor's analysis, however, was his repeated argument that the cult's 'initial and essential function was agricultural' (p. 273). While founders' cults are certainly prominent in many agricultural communities, it may still be better to view them as foundational, with agricultural fertility and the resulting welfare being the outcome of the founder's relationship with the spirits. Seeing things this way would help account for the cult's persistence at various levels of society, from farming hamlets to the state. At all these levels, the continuity of the unit in question depends on continued cooperation between the people and the spirits. The nature of this relationship may vary somewhat, from relatively egalitarian at the village level to more hierarchical on the level of the state, but the principle remains the same. The essential point is that founding a social unit, whether large or small, involves establishing a relationship with the spirit world.

In summary, these two volumes fill a significant gap in the literature on Southeast Asian beliefs and their socio-political ramifications. Together they will prove a stimulating basis for discussion for some time to come.